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Official Comments on Security, PFP Program

AU3101152094 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
26 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Georgi Dimitrov, chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs "International Organizations" Department, by Mariyana Boyadzhieva; place and date not given: "Bulgaria Has Not Obtained Any Security Guarantees As Yet"]

[Excerpt] [Boyadzhieva] Did you go to the Brussels summit meeting on 10-11 January with great expectations?

[Dimitrov] All Bulgarian initiatives at an official level, on the part of the government, as well as in the form of the National Assembly's declaration and Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's repeated statements on the subject, indicated our aspiration for our country's integration with the European structures, of which NATO is one of the most important. We declared on several occasions that Bulgaria's aspiration to join the Euro-Atlantic structures is a result of our strategic, sovereign policy, in conformity with the European security requirements, and does not affect the interests of third countries.

We raised a few questions in connection with the Brussels meeting. As a possible solution we mentioned a formula, similar to that of the EU's Copenhagen resolutions, namely an expansion to the east for the countries that are willing and ready to join. In this respect we have all reasons to be satisfied. We are convinced that NATO should not distinguish between different categories in its relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, so as not to introduce new division lines in Europe, and we believe that an equal starting chance should be granted to all those countries that have declared their wish for integration with the EU structures. This was achieved at the current stage. We regard the Partnership for Peace [PFP] initiative as a means of closer integration with the Union's structures.

Political consultations between NATO and the partner country whose territorial integrity and sovereignty is eventually threatened are envisaged within the PFP program. This is something we insist upon. Purely formal questions still remain to be clarified—such as the manner in which the consultations should begin and proceed and who should participate in them.

The problem of obtaining external guarantees for our national security represents another important element in our foreign policy. The question was raised not because we are feeling immediately threatened, but because, under the circumstances of the rapidly developing and not entirely positive processes in Europe, and on the account of our geographic situation in the immediate vicinity of a zone where tension and conflicts are prevailing, Bulgaria needs reliable and long-term external guarantees for its security. We cannot say that we have obtained such guarantees so far.

[Boyadzhieva] What has the Bulgarian diplomacy failed to accomplish, and what should be done in order to make our position more acceptable to the group of 16?

[Dimitrov] I do not think that we have failed to adopt the necessary actions within our possibilities and the methods available to us. The problem was excessively fanned and exaggerated in the media for reasons that have nothing to do with us and with the real nature of our relations with NATO.

Bulgarian diplomacy started its preparations for the Brussels meeting a long time before it was convened. As early as immediately following the change in the political configuration of Europe and at the beginning of our relations with the European Union, which were intensified along with the establishment of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, we unequivocally declared our wish for integration with EU structures, full membership included. We have signed agreements for additional measures of confidence building, security and development of military contacts with Turkey and Greece, which are a precedent in European practice, considering that they are going farther and are more intensive than the measures envisaged in the 1992 Vienna document for confidence building and security in Europe.

Bulgaria has never, even for a moment, been isolated from the process of NATO opening up to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The National Assembly's declaration on the subject was dispatched to our embassies with the relevant instructions for officially submitting it to the respective foreign departments, of pointing out its basic elements, and of briefing us on the reaction.

[Boyadzhieva] Would you describe the PFP initiative as a compromise, a chance, or a hope for our country?

[Dimitrov] Perhaps all three. It can be described as a compromise in as far as various overly optimistic expectations, as well as various extreme positions, and even apprehensions, within the organization itself, had to be toned down. The Russian factor, as well as the relations between Russia and NATO, Russia, and the United States, and Russia-Central-Eastern Europe also had to be taken into consideration. Those were the different levels of the contacts that had to be reflected in considering the idea. Bulgaria does not link its aspiration for integration with NATO to some fear of Russian threat. All the aforementioned relations that I enumerated are leading to a compromise, in the long run, so as to work with the same intentions, pursuing the same goal, rather than creating new divisions and contradictions.

Bulgaria's chance is the possibility that, for the first time in its history, our country has the opportunity of conducting a policy that coincides entirely with our national interests and specific possibilities. By participating in the PFP program, we should consider the long-term objectives of our foreign policy, in building our Armed Forces, and in the field of military industry. We must proceed side by side with the European trends that are aimed at integration and at joining efforts in the security sphere, rather than at creating new, closed or exclusive formations and groups. [passage omitted]

'Catastrophic Situation' in Army Examined

AU3101125194 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 26 Jan 94 p 3

[Nedko Petrov article: "For How Long Will We Follow the Slogan 'The Important Thing Is To Keep Soldiers Feeling Disgusted!'"]

[Text] Several days ago, at a meeting between the Rakovski Officer Legion and Army General Lyuben Petrov, commander of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, the officers precisely and clearly said to their chief that "the foundations of our national security are being systematically destroyed," and proposed that a roundtable on the "tragic situation in the Bulgarian Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs" be convened urgently.

The chaos, destruction, and catastrophic situation of the Bulgarian Army is a topic that did not emerge yesterday. Our leaders continue to ruin the Army and apparently act according to the Mafia slogan "It Is Important To Keep Soldiers Feeling Disgusted!" Let us quote several facts that officers from the Rakovski Legion reported to the chief of the General Staff and that are an open secret in army life:

—The Army enters the New Year with a deficit of 4 billion leva. The proposed military budget of 12.7 billion leva will suffice until 1 August, providing that inflation does not reduce even this term by a month or two.

—The use of military vehicles will be limited to only five kilometers. This means that tanks will be able to reach the entrance of the military camp but hardly the border.

—Combat squadron pilots will be able to fly only three hours per month (40 hours per year). Their colleagues from the squadrons of NATO's southern flank have a limit of 240-300 hours per year.

—The Navy has at present only two submarine-seeking helicopters, instead of 11, and one of them must be repaired according to the plan. Thus we have only one helicopter that could be used against submarines. Albania has three.

—In the elite army units, a batallion commander whose family consists of four members has 1,610 leva per month for feeding a single member of his family, the commander of a company—1,550, and the commander of a platoon—1,380.

—The stupidity and idiocy prevalent in the Army have reached a new height: All newly drafted soldiers in the Khaskovo unit received shoes size No. 39.

—Newly appointed lieutenants have no overcoats.

—Our defense minister proposes to reduce the term of military service from 18 to 15 months. Turkey is increasing military service from 15 to 18 months.

—The defense minister proposes to cut about 3,000 officers. Only in the last few months, Greece has increased its army personnel by 31,000, Turkey—by 118,000.

—Corruption, personal relations, and nepotism reign in the Army. The Army, the [officer] corps, and hangars are being ruined. Precious equipment is being left to rust....

We could continue to list additional absurdities but the question is: When will all this stop? For how much longer will they try to make the life of soldiers and officers even more disgusting?

Matinchev Advocates Modernizing Arms Industry

AU3101113094 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Jan 94 p 1

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev by Evelina Koleva; place and date not given: "Defense Industry Could Help Other Industrial Branches To Overcome Difficulties"]

[Text] [Koleva] Mr. Matinchev, during the current week you submitted a proposal to the government on production sharing between our defense industry enterprises and Russian producers. Does it mean that we are contemplating the idea of establishing new structural relations in our military-industrial complex?

[Matinchev] As chairman of the Interdepartmental Council on Defense Industry and Mobilization Readiness, I am striving to conduct a new policy in the defense complex, which is the only branch whose enterprises are hiring 400-700 new workers each. It is our ambition to use the defense industry enterprises for creating a momentum both for itself and for other industrial branches. In order to achieve this we need a clear strategy. It includes a rationalization of relations within the complex itself. Last week I met producers and merchants active in the arms production. We discussed many issues and possible measures to make our production even more appealing. The major issue of the markets was also posed, because production aimed at satisfying our Army's needs is a very small percentage of the total volume of our production. It is the duty of the Interdepartmental Council to adopt a new marketing policy.

[Koleva] You mean that you have already left the sphere of the single enterprise problems?

[Matinchev] The problems of a single enterprise do not interest me. I am interested in the problems of the entire complex—constructing excellent relations within the system and creating an excellent information pool, which could supply the best data on the market needs at any given moment. We must not merely export the weapons we produce, but must make our weapons more modern and appealing—an activity that in recent years we have more or less neglected. Obviously, we must purchase know-how for the production of new equipment and scrutinize the documental basis. This is unthinkable without our partners in Russia and other

countries. Afterward, we must enhance this activity through intergovernmental treaties. In other words, we must head toward something we have so stupidly destroyed over the last several years.

'Rhodolyubie' Leader on Turkish Influence

AU2801195794 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
25 Jan 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Branko Davidov, chairman of the "Rhodolyubie" Confederation, by Valeriya Veleva; place and date not given: "In the Chaos of Democracy, We Glide Like Dervishes Through the Mist of National Identity and Ethnicity"]

[Excerpts] [Veleva] Mr. Davidov, has there been any change in the situation in Rhodopes following the Second Conference of the DPS [Movement for Rights and Freedoms] at the end of November 1993?

[Davidov] Things have not changed substantially. The DPS has heavily engaged itself in launching an attack against the Bulgarian population. This ethnic party, just like our home-grown fundamentalists, have discovered religious and ethnic separatism as a background to the times we live in. Now, at long last, we must begin to consolidate the Bulgarian forces to repel this retrograde trend and those who are destroying our nationality and statehood.

The fact that over 30,000 of those who have declared themselves to be ethnic Turks are not asking for their Turkish-Arabic names to be restored shows that the demagogic attempts to exploit the names issue and religious self-determination is in principle a false card that people have been playing for years on end. Does it not impress you that every change in Bulgaria begins with an ethnic drama, and more particularly with a Bulgarian-Muslim problem? Now a barbaric process of ethnicization is being perpetrated. The terror is due to the state's inaction and the activity of foreign agents. Take, for example, the game being played in connection with the Law on Restoration of Names, the fact that Turkish capital is taking over the economy of the Rhodopes, and so on.

[Veleva] Is there any truth in the reports reaching Sofia about ethnic Bulgarians abandoning entire regions with mixed populations?

[Davidov] Yes, our national blood is pouring out from the Rhodopes. In a year or two, we will ask ourselves whether some regions form part of Bulgaria or not. It is natural for normal people to seek ways to migrate into the interior of the country. [passage omitted]

[Veleva] You hint at repelling these processes. Is there any real possibility that the nationalists and patriotic organizations will unite to accomplish what the state is not in a position to do?

[Davidov] I would like to explain what the concepts of patriotism and nationalism mean. They describe qualitative states of the intellect. Patriotism is based on an atavistic feeling of warmth from the embers of one's father's hearth. What is important here is the sense of moderation. Nationalism is an emotional charge in the self-consciousness of everyone who recognizes it in himself or herself. This self-assessment is every individual's right and represents a vote of civic presence. Any other interpretation of these concepts is manipulation and gross speculation. What offense is there in believing oneself to be a Bulgarian? When the press reports about the Union of Turks in Asenovgrad, the Turkish Democratic Party, the Pomak American Party, the Wallachian Association, and the Romany Association, no one says that they are nationalist organizations. However, when the Bulgarians of the Rhodopes or Pirin declare their identity, are they declaring themselves to be nationalists? [passage omitted]

[Veleva] Adem Kenan accused [DPS leader] Ahmed Dogan of collaborating with the Bulgarians in assimilating the Turks. The Bulgarian Turks also complain that their rights are being violated. Where does the truth lie?

[Davidov] All of them have become banal with their shameless harping on rights and freedoms. Adem Kenan may talk as much as he likes, he is still a child of the DPS. When the child outgrows the nationalistic form that the DPS has created, it is natural for him to accuse his creators. All of them—the Turkish Democratic Party, Mehmed Hodzha, and Kamen Burov—have been produced by the DPS. Now we need rights and freedoms in our own native land, which is both ours and—I am embarrassed to say—also theirs.

[Veleva] What makes you think this? The DPS has strongly dissociated itself from all of them.

[Davidov] This is merely oriental cunning and shallow demagogy. The logic is very simple. They say: Gentlemen, watch out if you do not recognize us and wage war against the DPS, which is becoming a nationalist party, because worse people than us will come along. This is how they aim to delude everyone. Do you really think that Mehmed Hodzha is any different from Ahmed Dogan? This is a game in the new election situation.

The extreme nationalists, of whom there are not a few among the section of the population that claims to be ethnic Turks, are seeking ways to persuade the Bulgarian authorities and the Bulgarian Parliament to grant Turkish cultural and ethnic autonomy as a first alternative. The sequel to this will be full autonomy according to the European-Asiatic model. This has already happened in some districts! Why can you not realize this in misty Sofia? I am not referring to language and forcing people to choose new names. This is every individual's sacred right. I am talking about the Pan-Turkic atmosphere in entire districts. In the village of Kornitsa, a purely Bulgarian village, they hoisted the Turkish flag in 1972, under communism, so why should they not do it

now? In Madan, there is a firm called "Jihad Construction" that is building a big mosque, an Islamic university, and mosques throughout the region. If you go to the Bulgarian Muslim villages in Yakoruda and Gotse Delchev districts, which the press says are Pomak settlements, you will sense the anti-Bulgarian mood, even in the village mayors. Why does no one pay attention to the secret pro-Turkish organizations that have been set up there, which even have arms? Why do they not carry out checks in the mosques? [passage omitted]

Radioactive Waste Storage Problem Highlighted

AU0102124494 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 28 Jan 94 p 8

[Article by Dimcho Evstatiev and Dimitur Kozhukharov: "Bulgaria Will Have a Storage Depot for Radioactive Waste From Kozloduy"]

[Text] Bulgaria has been developing nuclear power for more than 20 years now, but has yet to develop a proper position regarding the problem of disposing of the radioactive waste from nuclear power plants. In the recent past, various state institutions have made attempts to overcome this backwardness, but despite this we still have no national strategy backed up by legislation and no specialized organization for controlling radioactive waste. Meanwhile, the waste is accumulating at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, and the amounts of low- and medium-level waste already exceed 10,000 to 15,000 tonnes. In recent years high-level waste nuclear fuel has been added to these deposits. Debates have been going on in the press as to whether this high-level waste should be stored at Kozloduy for 40-50 years or whether it should be sent abroad for reprocessing in return for payment. In either case, the high-level waste produced after the fuel has been treated will most likely be buried in Bulgaria, for which we will need a deep underground storage site.

In 1991, the Council of Ministers asked the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences to develop a concept for a national radioactive waste storage depot. A large team of experts was formed from seven Academy of Sciences institutes, who were joined by specialists from Sofia University, the University of Mining and Geology, the Committee on Geology and Mineral Resources, the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, and other departments.

The end result of the study showed that sites do exist in Bulgaria that are suitable for constructing stores close to the surface for low- and medium-level waste with a comparatively short life, which, after treatment and packing in special containers, does not present any particular danger to the surrounding environment. As far as high-level waste is concerned, it is impossible to give a clearcut answer at this stage, because such waste takes tens of thousands of years to decay and the requirements relating to its storage deep underground are exceptionally stringent.

The studies and investigations carried out by Bulgarian Academy of Sciences have produced 56 scientific papers, the main results of which were submitted in summary form to the interested government departments. We now face a far more demanding and difficult task that must be fulfilled without delay, namely to complete additional studies and investigations of the most promising prospective storage sites and then select a few of them for detailed investigation. Such detailed investigations are extremely expensive (in the United States, Switzerland, Italy, and other countries they cost tens of millions of dollars), and for this reason it is vitally important to select the fewest possible prospective sites.

It takes over 10 years to investigate, design, and construct a storage depot for low- and medium-level waste, and 20 to 30 years to construct one for high-level radioactive waste. We therefore have no time to lose, and should immediately begin the next stage of completing the task on the basis of the Academy of Sciences report. Naturally, this cannot be achieved without active government intervention. In the United States, the commission on the problem of a national radioactive waste storage depot was chaired by the President himself. In Bulgaria too, the head of state should oversee the solving of this problem, in view of the negative reaction that may be expected from the local population and the risk of departmental interests exerting excessive influence. The responsible departments already display extreme secretiveness regarding information on contacts with prospective foreign partners, on the allocation of funds, and the conditions for their use, which is evidently connected with rivalry in controlling these funds. There is a real danger that the money that we will borrow from foreign creditors will be frittered away in the departmental budgets or appropriated in one form or another by foreign companies without any major work being completed.

This is why we insist that the government should most actively address the problem of finding a storage site for the radioactive waste from our nuclear plant and adopt concrete decisions on a national strategy and legislation, on setting up an independent agency for controlling radioactive waste, and on pressing issues relating to further investigations and research into designing the storage depot.

Bulgaria has indeed delayed far too long in resolving the radioactive waste problem. However, we still have at our disposal a considerable reserve of competent scientists and specialists, the geology of our land has been thoroughly surveyed, and all this forms a good basis for making speedy progress.

In Western countries with advanced nuclear power industries, one basic principle in developing a national strategy is not to leave succeeding generations with any economic or ecological problems arising from the underground storage of radioactive waste. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, we have tacitly adopted a different "strategy," according to which our generation will merely consume the nuclear energy, while the following generations will have to solve the problem of dealing with the radioactive waste from nuclear power production.

Paper Evaluates Havel's First Year in Office

AU3101174794 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 26 Jan 94 p 7

[Commentary by Jiri Leschtina and Petr Novacek: "Havel's First Year in Office: A Political Figure in Reserve"]

[Text] A bomb alert, a skirmish between the Republican leader and reporters in a toilet, and assaults by extreme right-wing deputies addressed to Vaclav Havel over the microphone—this was the atmosphere in which the first Czech president was elected by a close majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Commentaries appeared immediately saying that Havel would become a lonely figure without political weight. However, the fact that he has been elected president is evidence that he is not politically negligible at all.

Several days before the presidential elections, various representatives from Klaus's party had indicated that they could accept the idea that one of the most popular Civic Democratic Party politicians—Jan Strasky—would assume office at the Castle. The former federal prime minister, for whom the opposition would vote just to make Havel angry, was not completely without chances. Moreover, this enlightened and educated technocrat is a much more typical representative of Czech society than an exceptional dissident, creating in the world a rather distorted picture about ourselves. However, one of the Civic Democratic Party's highest officials admitted that the party executive committee had arrived quickly at the conclusion that Havel, as a living legend, is "less dangerous as president than as nonpresident."

Havel and the Foreign Minister

The first conflict between the Castle and the Foreign Ministry broke loose only two days after Havel's election. The president said that the "Czech Republic should support the idea of an international military intervention in Bosnia." Then he added that the country's binding standpoint would be discussed at his meeting with the foreign minister. Josef Zieleniec, bringing the text of the Constitution with him, visited the Castle. He drew the president's attention to the fact that the president may represent the Republic, but the Republic's foreign policy is formulated by the government.

Nevertheless, in April, during Vaclav Havel's visit to Bill Clinton in Washington, he said: "One possibility of achieving peace in Bosnia is to make air strikes on Serbian positions." Three days later, Vaclav Klaus reacted: "To recommend someone to intervene, and to stay aside, seems very difficult to me." This was an exchange of opinions that has become a framework for political duels regarding foreign policy: The president's generally correct moral standpoints versus the realism of the government policy based on the world's complicated relations in which the Czech Republic's voice is only one of many.

At that time, Vaclav Havel and Josef Zieleniec used to dine together almost once a week. The minister very decently explained the Cerninsky Palace's diplomatic intentions to the president. At the same time, he strictly insisted that, unlike in Dienstbier's time, each of them will be active in a clearly delimited space.

On the other hand, the newly elected leaders, too, began to understand, on their foreign visits, that the president's fame abroad is no fiction. One of our diplomats admits that "the same way Milan Kundera writes for the British or the French, President Havel delivers speeches abroad that the foreign officials want to hear. As the wise ruler in *The Little Prince*, he invites someone to do what he wants to do anyway. When he does it, it even strengthens Havel's authority."

Owing to the mediating role of Alexander Vondra, Zieleniec's first deputy and Havel's former adviser, relations between the Cerninsky Palace and the Castle have gradually improved. Clinton's visit to Prague was already under the influence of Cerninsky Palace's skillful maneuvers and Vaclav Havel's personal diplomacy. After Josef Zieleniec allowed Budapest to become Warren Christopher's host city last year, Havel, by a suggestive letter, could invite the U.S. president to Prague. He, as well as his predecessor Bush, has understood that it is advisable to appear, from time to time, on the television screen with Havel, the philosopher and intellectual.

According to eyewitnesses, the president, the prime minister, and the foreign minister acted unanimously during Clinton's visit. Impressed by this cooperation, one of Havel's advisers said: "Clinton would not arrive if Havel were not the president, but he would equally not arrive if our economic transformation were on the Romanian level."

Havel and the Prime Minister

Since his arrival at Prague Castle, Vaclav Havel has become a close collaborator with Vaclav Klaus. Someone has said that, particularly in the first six months of his rule, the president seemed to be fascinated by the prime minister's exceptionality. This, however, is a problem that Klaus's partners must sort out. "The most difficult thing is to survive the first three years with Klaus, then everything becomes O.K.," one of the prime minister's friends says.

Between the prime minister and the president, there are few disputes about the concepts. However, they sort of kick one another's ankle, in the name of political prestige. Of course, in this sort of duel, Klaus is more inclined to attack. This is a result of the prime minister's aggressiveness and also of his political instinct for self-preservation. Unlike the president, who has been elected by parliament for five years, party leader Klaus must everyday collect points for himself and for his party for the coming communal election and for the parliamentary elections later on.

Vaclav Klaus has not missed any opportunity to let the public know who is the number-one man in our politics. Permanent pressure on the president has occasionally assumed an impolite form toward the head of state. For example, some ministers recall that the prime minister let Vaclav Havel wait in the antechamber for several minutes when the president came to a government meeting.

Maybe Havel, who is always polite, realized later that he should have left immediately. Apparently, one year is too short a time for Havel to get accustomed to the rules of the power struggle that belongs to the party-oriented policy in stable democracies. Whoever can prove that he is able to exert vehement pressure on his milieu and to react promptly to the attacks of his partners wins.

The fact that Vaclav Havel has avoided direct confrontation with the prime minister has thus provoked the most embarrassing episode of the year: The disrespectful dispute after the visit by Salman Rushdie, whose visit was quite desirable otherwise. Irrespective of the fact that this was a private visit on the incentive of the International Helsinki Committee, the president knew about it and should have discussed it with the prime minister. Today it is a known fact that the top echelons of the Interior Ministry and the Foreign Ministry knew about the visit two weeks in advance but did not report it to Klaus.

When there was a verbal dispute between the president and the prime minister, in which both issued politically improper statements, no one was willing to admit a mistake. It is quite symptomatic that, after a three-hour debate behind the Castle's closed door, involving the president, the prime minister, the foreign minister, and the interior minister, Havel finally gave up. The result was a farce in the form of a communique that described the president's spokesman, Ladislav Spacek, as the culprit who committed the faux pas.

With the exception of Rushdie-type affairs, both political protagonists have kept their personal disputes under wraps. On the other hand, there is no reason for them to hide their disputes regarding their concepts and opinions originating from their different political beliefs. Who else than the president and the prime minister should set an example of how to conduct ethical discussions in which one participant tolerates the other?

Havel and Parliament

In the era of his federal presidency, relations between Vaclav Havel and parliament represented a stumbling block. Today, however, the communication between the president and the Chamber of Deputies has lost the tension it previously had. This is also due to the fact that the Constitution allows the president to return bills to parliament but not to present them. Vaclav Havel used his right to veto the bills when he returned to the deputies the immoral bill on customs by which the legislative body granted unjustified advantages to deputies as regards customs control.

Otherwise, it seems that the president has gradually adopted one of the principal methods of practical policy, which he had demonstrably despised in relations with the Federal Assembly—that is, cultivating official contacts and also contacts behind the scenes, with the influential representatives of both the coalition and the nongovernment parties. His activity culminated by the end of last year when he met with all of the clubs of deputies within several hours, with the exception of Sladek supporters, debating the politically "hot" and topical subject of the reform of the state administration.

Otherwise, it seems that the president is seeking to establish contact with the chairmen of two coalition parties—Josef Lux and Jan Kalvoda, prominent Civic Democratic Party personalities in parliament—and also with several representatives of the opposition. It is impossible to question the fact that Havel, Kalvoda, and Lux have similar opinions, but it would be a simplification to say that an anti-Klaus coalition is being created here. "The president is only searching for possible allies, and he is also consulting other people, which he did not do before," one of the People Party's deputies says.

Havel and People

One of the most sensitive problems, persisting from the time of Havel's federal presidency, is the problem of our "settling accounts with the past." There is no doubt about the fact that the president raised the hopes of the people when he said on 21 August 1990 that we have to continue the revolution and to finally destroy the power of the communist mafias. However, Vaclav Havel has never specified how such a cleansing process should be performed. However, he strictly rejected any unlawful settling of accounts with the past, including the published list of the State Security collaborators.

Last spring, in an interview for the Polish paper GAZETA WYBORCZA, Havel said that the screening law and the illegally published list of agents in NECEZUROVANE NOVINY had caused human tragedies. "I know about people who committed suicide and about children who jumped out of the window when they learned that their father was on the list," the president said. Later on, when he was sued by Peter Cibulka, one of the NECENZUROVANE NOVINY editors and a Charter 77 signatory, the president spoke in front of the court about attempted suicides only.

It is possible to agree with those who say that the controversy between Havel and the vulgar Cibulka in the courtroom is a private affair between the two former dissidents. On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore that some people were maliciously happy to watch the conflict between former "prisoners of conscience."

Daniel Kroupa, Civic Democratic Party deputy chairman, is of the opinion that the president should abstain from disputes—disputes between parties, in particular. "Vaclav Havel should focus on great presidential topics," Daniel Kroupa says. "We should not moralize, but we should support values in politics."

It seems that Vaclav Havel began behaving in that manner by the end of his first year in office at the Castle, when he summarized in his New Year's speech his opinions about civic society and applied them to real political problems, particularly the territorial division. He presented controversial opinions that provoked the prime minister's reaction but caused only a mediocre discussion in the press. It will depend on the president himself whether he will be able to present more detailed plans, embellish them, and present them to the attentive part of the public in such a form as to make them the predominant topic the next year.

Havel in His Role

The German paper GENERAL ANZEIGER has written about Vaclav Havel recently: "The president is on his way to becoming what he was when he was a dissident—a man striking his head against the wall, while being surrounded by a sea of indifference. The fact that mostly old wives and children are waving hands when the president is traveling within the Republic does not mean much. Other people have to make their living and do not have time to applaud wise speeches of statesmen. However, Havel has won 70 percent of the popular vote in public opinion polls, which suggests that people want to have someone in the Castle who is protecting the general principles of society. The president has certainly passed this test.

Klaus Discusses Economy, EC With Swiss Media

LD3101192794 Prague Radiojournal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus arrived from Davos to Ermantigen near Lake Constance today. Jiri Halousek reports:

[Halousek] Vaclav Klaus is staying today at Wolfsberg Castle near Ermantigen, at the invitation of the Union Bank of Switzerland. [passage omitted]

Klaus held a news conference for representatives of the Swiss communications media this afternoon.

The prime minister first pointed to the differences that exist between the Czech Republic and the majority of the other former communist countries. These differences exist in both the political structure and the economy. While, for example, in the majority of postcommunist states privatization of large enterprises is only beginning, it will be completed in our country this year.

Klaus went on to say that the fact that there is low unemployment in our country is the consequence of our having managed to secure the correct ratio between labor productivity and wages. In the West, on the contrary, this ratio is troublesome at the moment. The current 3.5 percent of unemployed will not be possible to maintain on a long-term basis, but unemployment will grow in a balanced way. Klaus expects the growth of unemployment this year to be 0.1 percent a month. Inflation should be under 10 percent.

The Czech prime minister then said he was convinced that what our government has done has general validity. Despite various national differences, other postcommunist countries must proceed basically in the same way if they want to succeed.

We do not need help from the West, only security guarantees, membership in international institutions, and open markets. We are interested in entry into the EC. However, as Klaus continued, on the other hand, we also have worries similar to Switzerland's. We do not like bureaucracy and state interventionism. About the Maastricht Treaty, Klaus said that we need common markets, not a political union. We are seeking our own identity, which we lost during the years of proletarian internationalism, and we fear that we might lose it again in a too-unified Europe. We want to get to Europe, but we do not want to dissolve in it as a lump of sugar in a cup of coffee, Klaus said literally. Large nations do not have these worries, but small countries such as the Czech Republic have them.

Klaus then went on to say that he was on the side of Slovakia in the conflict between Slovakia and Hungary. [passage omitted]

Arms Manufacturers Approve of New Draft Law

AU3101152794 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 28 Jan 94 p 3

[Article by "jpg": "Rules for Arms Trade"]

[Text] Prague—"At last we have clear rules of the game," J. Vicek, director general of the RDP Group arms consortium, told us. He responded this way to the government draft law on trade in military material, which was discussed by the parliament committees yesterday. According to Vicek, however, even this law will not be able to protect the Czech arms factories from being besmirched by foreign competitors, which have recently described Prague as a dealer in death. "The regular challenge to the trustworthiness of the Czech Republic in dealing with military material is partly caused by the effort on the part of the competition to suppress Czech arms exports. At times, however, it is also due to our inability to convince the world that our exports are controlled by clear laws," Bretislav Gregr, director of the license administration section at the Ministry of Industry and Trade, said. According to him, the law defines limits for dealers in military material, which correspond to international standards. It even refers to state administration employees who have access to information on arms trade. After their departure from these bodies, for three years they are not permitted to work for firms involved in the production or sale of arms.

Ministry Official Discusses 1993 Arms Trade

AU3101152994 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 29 Jan 94 p 2

[Article by "km": "The State Wants Arms Exports To Occasionally Remain a Secret"]

[Text] Prague—Although Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy stated recently that the military material trade policy of the Czech Republic is completely open, some arms contracts are still veiled in secrecy.

Bretislav Gregr, director of the License Administration at the Ministry of Industry and Trade, said that there are exceptional instances of trade, about which it is not appropriate to inform. "They are concealed from a third country," he said. He refused to provide any more detail.

Bretislav Gregr stated that, last year, the Czech Republic exported arms to 52 countries of the world. The value of the exported military material is close to $167 million, which is $17 million more than in 1992.

The greatest interest abroad is in aviation technology, the main buyer of which is Egypt, and in handguns, which are exported mostly to Turkey. Although the largest shipments of military material go particularly to African and Arab countries and Southeast Asian states, the Czech Republic has most arms trade business partners in Europe.

Arms imports remain low because the Defense and Interior Ministries do not have funds sufficient for armament. Last year, the Czech Republic imported arms and parts for military technology from a total of 12 countries of the world. There was, for instance, a shipment of special components for aviation technology from the Bahamas.

Last year, the Czech Republic did not export any heavy technology, like tanks, armored carriers, or artillery systems. Nor was a single Tamara radiolocator exported, which has a good name abroad.

On the other hand, Kuwait has bought a greater quantity of the universal plastic explosive Semtex, which is used there to eliminate the consequences of the Persian Gulf war.

Great Britain obtained a small quantity of Semtex, as did several other states that are testing Semtex features to be more successful in the struggle against terrorists who use this explosive.

New Law Restricts Promotion of Arms Sales

AU0802122294 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 31 Jan 94 p 2

[Article by "km": "Arms Sales Advertising To Be Limited"]

[Text] Prague—The promotion and advertising of arms, as well as their sales, can be conducted, according to the new law, only by licensed arms dealers. To date, any businessman with a general enterprise license could offer arms and military technology for sale.

Bretislav Gregr, director of the License Administration at the Ministry of Industry and Trade, said that the tightening of the conditions was caused by instances that unnecessarily damaged the reputation of the Republic. He gave an example of a citizen who had nothing to do with arms dealing advertising the sale of handguns and submachine guns in a foreign journal. Some people even offered tanks and airplanes abroad. "We have begun to receive notes through diplomatic channels asking how it is possible that these individuals can offer arms without any restrictions," Gregr said.

Iran Allegedly Suspected Skoda Employee of Spying

AU0802120894 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 31 Jan 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta and Jim Biggs: "Iran Suspected Skodaexport Employee of Spying"]

[Text] The Iranian intelligence service suspected Ladislav Tyl, a Skodaexport representative detained in Iran last year under so-far-unexplained circumstances, of espionage. This was reported by a diplomatic source who does not wish to be identified in order to avoid difficulties in office.

However, Skodaexport Director General Jan Ricica rejects the espionage charge. "Espionage activity is completely unrealistic," he said. He emphasized that, following the intervention of the Czech ambassador to Tehran, Tyl was released with the explanation that the suspicions had not been confirmed.

Tyl was arrested shortly after the departure of the Skoda Plzen delegation that had visited Tehran to establish business contacts and also discussed the possibility of supplying Iran with modernized T-72 tanks. While some sources place Tyl's arrest precisely in the context of Skoda Plzen Director General Lubomir Soudek's business negotiations, Ricica said that such a connection seem unlikely to him. Nevertheless, Tyl participated in all Soudek's meetings in Tehran.

The Skodaexport director general also said that he could not think of any reason for detaining Tyl. "Because there was no indication of any links to the Skodaexport business activities in the course of the incident, we are certain it must have been a misunderstanding or a case of mistaken identity," he declared.

The Skoda Plzen business mission to Iran created suspicion among some intelligence services that Skoda is trying to acquire a share not only in supplies of conventional arms, but also of technology for the Iranian nuclear program.

Tyll was detained by Iranian security on 7 December of last year and released five days later. He had worked in Iran for almost four years. Following the incident, however, he returned home. The arrest cut his planned stay in Iran by approximately 14 days.

In response to our question, the Iranian Foreign Ministry, through its Prague embassy, refused to comment on the circumstances of Tyll's arrest.

According to experts on this area, it cannot be ruled out that the Iranian security service was attempting to find out whether Tyll had any information about the Iranian nuclear program.

Ricica considers Tyll's arrest a thing of the past. He says he does not expect it to have an impact on future business cooperation.

Clearing Account for Slovak Trade Exceeds Limit

AU2801165294 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 29 Jan 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Balance of the Clearing Account Just Like at the End of Last Year"]

[Text] Prague—The overall balance of the clearing account for trade with Slovakia has reached 5.7 billion korunas or approximately 170 million ECU's, after Thursday [27 January], which is 40 million ECU's over the margin limit.

The old list surplus amounts to 800 million korunas, and the new list 4.9 billion in favor of the Czech Republic. Last year, at the end of December, when the margin limit was surpassed for the first time, the amounts reached 1.611 billion and 4.106 billion, respectively. The National Bank of the Slovak Republic covered the amount over the allowed margin before the deadline on 10 January.

December Unemployment Rises to 3.52 Percent

AU2801135494 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Jan 94 p 9

[Article by "(ZH)": "Unemployment in the Czech Republic"]

[Excerpt] The number of unplaced job-seekers registered at labor offices continued to rise in December last year. On 31 December, 185,216 people were out of work, which is the highest number of unemployed since March 1992. Compared with the situation at the end of November, there were 9,500 (5.38 percent) more unemployed, while, compared with the same period of 1992, there were 50,400 more unemployed.

Some 31,944 people came onto the labor offices' registers in December, which is 6,900 newly registered job seekers fewer than at the end of November. Only 22,500 job seekers came off the labor offices' registers; of these, 15,600 (69.3 percent)) were placed in employment, 2,700 ((12.0 percent)) were struck off the register for not observing the conditions for cooperation with the labor offices, and the remaining 4,200 ((18.7 percent)) came off the register for other reasons. The number of labor offices that, during December, recorded a drop in the number of registered job seekers has declined. Only six labor offices (Prague-West, Ceske Budejovice, Usti nad Labem, Jablonec nad Nisou, Prague, and Beroun)) recorded a drop in the number of job seekers between - 3.8 percent and - 0.1 percent. The month-to-month increase in unemployment in the other labor offices hovered between 0.05 percent in the Blansko District and 17.2 percent in Cheb.

The number of people receiving benefits prior to entering into employment was 93,380 on 31 December 1993, which is 50.4 percent of the overall number of unplaced job seekers.

The level of unemployment, calculated as a percentage of the number of registered job seekers in the overall available work force, was 3.52 percent on 31 December, which was the highest figure recorded in 1993. Compared with the same period last year, this is 0.95 percentage points more and, compared with September 1993, it is 0.35 percentage points more. Unemployment rose in all regions of the republic except Prague (stagnation). The highest level is still in North Moravia (6.16 percent), where, of the 10 districts, only Olomouc recorded an unemployment level under 5.0 percent. Only in Prague and the Cheb District was the level of unemployment under 1.0 percent in December (0.34 percent and 0.68 percent respectively). It was more than 5.0 percent in 22 districts and more than 7.0 percent in seven districts. The highest level of unemployment was in the Znojmo District (8.52 percent) and in Brunta (8.7 percent).

The number of vacancies has continued to decline in contrast to the rising number of unplaced job seekers. On 31 December 1993, there were 53,938 vacancies on offer at labor offices, which is 1,300 fewer than in November and 25,500 fewer than during the same period of 1992. The supply and demand situation for vacancies is different in individual regions of the Czech Republic. While in Prague at the end of December there were almost six vacancies per job seeker, in North Moravia, the demand for vacancies exceeded supply almost 12 times and in South Moravia 6.5 times. The average for the Czech Republic as a whole was 3.4 job seekers per vacancy. [passage omitted]

Funding of AIDS Prevention, Treatment

AU2801104194 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 27 Jan 94 p 2

[Article by "mi": "Seventy Million for AIDS"]

[Text] Prague—According to Ondrej Trojan, M.D., from the National Commission for the Prevention of HIV/AIDS, the 70 million korunas that the government provides for the prevention of AIDS would suffice if it

did not have to be used for the drugs and equipment of the many facilities. The commission, in which AIDS experts from both government and nongovernment spheres are represented, recently decided on the following distribution of the money: 20 percent will go to prevention (education, behavior surveys, and so on), 26 percent to testing, and more than half for everything else, principally treatment and investment. This means that health insurance covers, for example, only the drugs for hospitalized patients and not for those whose disease has not yet developed and are being treated as outpatients. According to Trojan, who is also president of the nongovernment Association for the Struggle Against AIDS and for Sexual Education, the commission could not turn down the funds for this purpose because it would endanger human lives. "Let us call things by their names and not boast to the World Health Organization of 70 million spent on prevention, if, in fact, the money is only covering for the state or health insurance," Trojan says. Just for a comparison: Great Britain invests an annual 20 million pounds on prevention.

Nongovernment organizations receive approximately 7 percent of the 70 million. (The World Health Organization generally recommends, however, that at least 15 percent of the total be allocated to these organizations.) The AIDS Help Society wants, for instance, to establish a so-called lighthouse for those sick and dying of AIDS. According to Trojan, nongovernment organizations have to fight much harder for funds. The idea apparently still prevails that they are more likely to waste the funds at their disposal than government institutions.

President Supports Preservation of Visegrad

LD3101144794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Slovak President Michal Kovac spoke today in favor of preserving the Visegrad Group's role as a practical consultative forum, without its being institutionalized. He said that mutual cooperation of Central European countries would help to speed up the inevitable economic changes and their incorporation into the well-tried European structures.

Replying to a question about whether in his opinion the Visegrad Group could exist without the Czech Republic, President Kovac said that, in the talks he had in Prague, there was no indication that the Czech Republic was not interested in mutual cooperation. President Kovac therefore does not think it appropriate to consider other alternatives to the Visegrad Group.

Presidential Office Statement on Poland Visit

AU0102113094 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Successful Despite Misunderstandings; Press Section of the Presidential Office on Slovak President's Visit to Poland"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Press Section of the Presidential Office of the Slovak Republic has been authorized to announce:

The official visit by the president of the Slovak Republic to the Republic of Poland was prepared in the same manner as all previous trips abroad by the head of state. According to the words of Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik, "the president's visit to Poland has been prepared for quite some time and was preceded by extensive diplomatic activity." The Ministry of Foreign Affairs proposed which treaties ought to be signed during the visit, and the composition of the delegation was determined accordingly. A discussion on the specific agenda of the visit took place also during the president's bilateral talks with the president of the Republic of Poland in Prague, on the occasion of the meeting of representatives of the Visegrad Four countries with President Clinton. The talks between the presidents of Poland and Slovakia were attended also by ministers Jozef Moravcik and Jan Ducky. In the course of these talks, they arrived at the opinion that steps must be taken to increase economic cooperation between the two countries. For these reasons, Minister of the Economy Jan Ducky and other representatives of our economic life were to be members of the official delegation. It is therefore incomprehensible that the prime minister learned about the Slovak president's planned official visit to Poland only on 19 January 1993, as he declared at the 26th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

In spite of instances of misunderstanding between constitutional bodies, which have also been reported in the press, we are able to state that the Slovak president's official visit to the Republic of Poland was successful and represents a major contribution to the development of Polish-Slovak relations. On the other hand, the questioning of the activity of any central state body and its representatives is damaging to the interests and the good name of the Slovak Republic abroad.

Knazko: Lexa in SFRY Clandestinely in 1992

AU2801153294 Bratislava SME in Slovak 27 Jan 94 p 1

[Interview with Milan Knazko, chairman of the Alliance of Democrats of the Slovak Republic and former foreign minister, by Jana Pankovcinova; place and date not given: "What Was Lexa Doing in Yugoslavia?"]

[Text] [Pankovcinova] What information do you have about the purpose of Ivan Lexa's visit to the former Yugoslavia in the fall of 1992?

[Knazko] I found out after the fact that Mr. Lexa had gone to Yugoslavia with the blessing of the prime minister. I never found out anything about the purpose of this visit and no report was ever written about it. Thus, the government resolution according to which every government member—anyone who was in any way involved in Slovak foreign policy—is obliged within 14 days of returning from a visit to submit a report on it was infringed.

[Pankovcinova] However, Mr. Lexa was not a government member, neither a minister nor a state secretary, at that time. Did this resolution apply to him?

[Knazko] He was head of the Slovak Government Office at that time and this resolution applied to him if he went there with the blessing of the prime minister. Without his blessing, of course, he could not have gone there.

[Pankovcinova] Why did you not say anything about this before?

[Knazko] I did. I wrote a letter to the prime minister, but I did not receive a reply. This was not the only instance. Later, I also informed the press about visits that were not discussed in advance with the Foreign Ministry—for example, when the prime minister was in Germany or Austria without the knowledge of the deputy prime minister and foreign minister. We never received a report at the Foreign Ministry on these visits by the prime minister.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 27 January on page 2, under the headline "A Question for Ivan Lexa," carries the following 100-word "(SD)"-signed question and Lexa's response:

"In a speech delivered to the National Council of the Slovak Republic, M. Knazko indirectly described you as the person the prime minister sent to the former Yugoslavia in the fall of 1992 without the knowledge of the Foreign Ministry. Do you have anything to say to this?

"Lexa: No comment."]

Authorities Return Travel Documents to Lexa

AU3101183194 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "They Have Returned I. Lexa's Documents"]

[Text] Bratislava—Ivan Lexa, head of the Government Office, has informed TA SR that officers from the Slovak Republic Police Force returned his travel documents to him yesterday evening and told him that, after "reevaluating the situation, there are no longer any reasons for holding on to them." In view of the fact that my documents were seized—on written authorization—a month ago on account of "the nature of my criminal activity" and that the legal proceedings being taken against me in accordance with Paragraph 103 of the Criminal Law are continuing, I do not understand the current course of action, said Lexa. At the same time, he described this situation as a manifestation of the rash behavior and excessive initiative coupled with a lack of professionalism displayed by the law enforcement agencies a month ago.

Lexa Briefs Press on Privatization Issues

AU3101150994 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jan 94 p 2

[Article by Ivan Podstupka: "Second Wave in Fall; News Conference at the Ministry of Privatization"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property [MSPNM] called a news conference yesterday, the first after three months, at which State Secretary Ivan Lexa provided information on key aspects of the privatization process.

The first wave of privatization ended last October. The privatization objectives of the first wave were fulfilled, with the exception of 30 enterprises. Ivan Lexa contested views to the effect that privatization has slowed down and those expressing doubts about its transparency. He said that, since 15 July 1993, when the ministry started working in its new composition, the process of privatization has accelerated six times. A total of 100 privatization projects have been approved since then, 35 of which were direct sales. Another 70 privatization projects are waiting for the National Property Fund [FNM] to invite or evaluate a public tender. The state secretary pointed out that neither the government nor the MSPNM can accelerate the process, which is in the hands of the FNM. The MSPNM was dissatisfied with cooperation with the FNM Executive Committee, and changes in the FNM bodies have established prerequisites for the situation to improve. Some new methods should make privatization more transparent. Prices will be set according to a new expert's standard and will be monitored by the Supreme Inspection Office. Financial Police will check potential buyers of property, how they meet their tax obligations, the purity of their previous operations, etc. The ministry also calls on the trade unions to send to it signals regarding the professional qualities and irreproachability of current managers who want to privatize their company.

According to Ivan Lexa, the personnel ties between the MSPNM and the FNM as contained in the government bill on privatization are warranted. The MSPNM is preparing another important bill—on holdings. The bill's key issue is the legal codification of taxation, as the double taxation of proceeds from shares must be prevented.

Speaking about employee-held shares, Ivan Lexa said that, in its policy statement, the government pledged to support employees' wider participation in privatization. He cited Sigma Zavadka, Topvar Topolcany, and JAS Bardejov as successful examples of companies privatized by their employees. In the Tlaciarne Bratislava [Bratislava Printing Works], the initiative was seized by middle-level managers, who already own 51 percent of shares. He also said that the method of allocating a part of the shares for the management and another part for employees had good prospects.

Asked by PRAVDA about the form and the date of the second privatization wave, Ivan Lexa said that registration [of coupon books] is planned for the last quarter of 1994. It is necessary to beware of the all-or-nothing approach [mantinelizmus], to which led the endeavor to comply at any price with the federal deadlines for the first privatization wave. The method of privatizing individual enterprises will be assessed more thoroughly [than in the first wave]. A specific owner will be sought first, and only then [when a specific buyer is not found] will the coupon method be used. Property worth 50-70 billion korunas [Sk] will be privatized in the second wave of coupon privatization. The MSPNM is to submit its material on the second wave to the government by the end of February 1994.

A concept is being prepared on how to privatize the Sk47.7 billion worth of securities still held by the FNM. The state's permanent participation [in companies, in which the FNM holds a stake] will be reassessed and limited as much as possible. FNM-held shares will be sold either directly or by means of public tender, and smaller remainders will be offered for sale on the stock exchange or on the RM-System market. However, the state secretary pointed to the risk of disturbance in the market if too many securities were to be sold at once.

Daily Corrects Commentary on Ethnic Hungarians

AU3101125394 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Jan 93 p 2

[Article by "r": "Correction"]

[Text] In the article "Miklos Duray and Bela Bugar Keep Writing....," published in yesterday's issue of REPUBLIKA (pages 1 and 2), it should have been correctly

stated that, in their letter addressed to the Council of Europe, Miklos Duray and Bela Bugar demand that "towns be given their historical Hungarian names" and not that "Hungarian towns be given their historical names," as incorrectly stated.

Parliament Fails To Approve Bilingual Signs

AU0102123494 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 29 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Deputies Did Not Approve Amendment on Signposts; Meeting of Parliament Will Continue Next Week"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The 26th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] continued yesterday with the discussion of amendments to the law on the official language and the law on the territorial and administrative division of the Slovak Republic, which are known as the Law on Signposts. Although a government-sponsored bill on orders, a document on European coproduction in film-making, and an amendment to the law on financing political parties and movements from the state budget were also on the agenda, most of the day was taken up by the debate on the Law on Signposts. In spite of that, the law did not pass. The bill on orders met, for the time being, with the same fate.

In the debate on the legislative norm on signposts, Deputy Jan Pivoluska, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], proposed that an ethnic minority's minimum representation in a community required for the installation of signposts in the minority's language be raised from 20 percent [as recommended in the government bill] to 50 percent. Erno Rozsa, Coexistence, on the other hand, proposed that 10 percent of ethnic minority members in a community should be sufficient for the community to be designated also in their language.

Miroslav Gandi, HZDS, ended his contribution with an appeal for the unification of deputies representing Slovak political parties against the demands of the Hungarian coalition. Ladislav Pittner, Christian Democratic Movement, stressed in the debate that one cannot fight irridentism by suppressing the rights of ethnic minorities and that ethnic minorities must be accommodated in line with European conventions. Igor Gazdik endorsed the Hungarian coalition's proposal on behalf of the Club of Independent Deputies.

Roman Hofbauer, minister of transportation, communications, and public works, discussed linguistic aspects and how the names of communities came about.

Deputies Rejected Everything

Most changes proposed in the [parliamentary committees' rapporteurs'] joint report and during the debate by individual deputies did not pass. The deputies also turned down the comprehensive proposal tabled by the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Coexistence coalition, changing substantial portions of the law. Of the 134 parliamentarians present, 52 voted for the proposal of the Hungarian coalition, 65 against, and 17 abstained. The proposal that communities should be able to have names in the language of ethnic minorities on the basis of a decision by the local council, or on the basis of a local referendum, did not pass, either; it was short of three votes. During the final vote on the amendments, 132 deputies reported their presence. The law was not approved because only 64 deputies voted in its favor, while 35 voted against and 33 abstained. [passage omitted]

The 26th NRSR meeting will continue next Wednesday [2 February].

Pilot Issue of New Hungarian Weekly Offered

AU0102132494 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 31 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] The first issue of the SANSZ (Chance), another periodical in the Hungarian language, will be offered today to readers by the PNS [Postal Newspaper Subscription Service]. It will be published by Bratislava Ecopress Co. on 16 pages, in color.

Community Protests Proposed Annexation

AU0102124394 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Against Border Changes"]

[Text] Horne Srnie—Disagreement with the proposal put forward by Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna at talks with Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml in Piestany on 14 January, under which the Slovak part of the community of Horne Srnie-Sidonia is to be annexed to the Czech Republic, was voiced by the Horne Srnie local council at its meeting the day before yesterday. In a statement addressed to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, the Horne Srnie deputies demand that the present border between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic [CR], which is formed here by the Vlarka Creek, be retained. They appeal to National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies to endorse their demand that the present border remain unchanged.

Journalists Group Protests Meciar Actions

AU0102132794 Bratislava SME in Slovak 29 Jan 94 p 3

[Article by "r": "Slovak PEN Center Protests Against Restriction of Media Freedom"]

[Text] Bratislava—At its meeting on 18 January 1994, the Slovak PEN [International Association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists, and Novelists] Center Committee adopted a statement, which says, among other things:

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar speaks about a list of 40 journalists who supposedly receive their pay from abroad in dollars and asserts that, after verifying the list's authenticity, he will make it public.

The Constitution of the Slovak Republic guarantees every citizen's right to freely disseminate information and there is no law banning the acceptance of honorariums from abroad. This does not even run counter to ethics. What we consider immoral is, quite the contrary, the evocation of stereotypes of totalitarian thinking by which dollars were synonymous with dirty money. The publication of such a list, but even the very mention of it by the prime minister, is an evident attempt to use xenophobic sentiments in society against independent media, an attempt that is, in the final analysis, directed against democracy. We protest, furthermore, against the prosecuting bodies' efforts to introduce into practice Article 103 of the Penal Code [regarding defamation of the head of state]. This precedent of a political problem being carried to the level of criminal law is a dangerous signal of future abuse of Articles 102 and 103 of the Penal Code against truly independent critics of power. The Slovak PEN Center deeply regrets that two of its members signed the Proclamation of 50 Slovak Intellectuals to the Intellectuals of Europe [reference to a statement adopted in Bratislava on 6 January 1994, in which 50 Slovak intellectuals blame Hungarian policies and ethnic Hungarians' "irredentism" for tension in Slovak-Hungarian relations].

Government Examines Property Division Issues

AU2801170994 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 27 Jan 94 p 5

[Unattributed report in the "Yesterday in the Government" column: "The Czechs Decided Without Us"]

[Excerpts] Reports keep appearing in the Czech and also in some Slovak media that the division of federal property could have been elegantly wound up if only the Slovak side had not made absurd demands, which the Czech side will never accept. There is talk about [Slovak demands for] compensation for the federal flag and for the Slovak territory ceded to Poland in 1920, and the like. What is the reality? A report on the present state of work on the division of the property of the former CSFR between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic was on the agenda of yesterday's meeting of the government. [passage omitted]

Of the 12 partial agreements pertaining to the division of federal property, eight have been signed so far. Four agreements, which are in the works, are still to be signed. These are: an agreement on the property settlement of the consequences of the division of the former Czechoslovak State Bank [SBCS] balance between the Czech National Bank and the Slovak National Bank; a treaty between the Czech Republic Government and the Slovak Republic Government on the sale of gold; an agreement on the division of the deficit of the federal budget for 1992 between the state budgets of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic and on the settlement of financial relations of organizations for 1992 with the state budgets of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic; and the agreement on the aggregate mutual financial settlement of the results of the division of the former CSFR's property between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic approved by the [Czech-Slovak] "Commission" [for the division of federal property].

The key problem is the division of the former SBCS's balance. No progress on this issue has been made, however.

The agreement on aggregate settlement is actually the final agreement, and its signing depends on the solution of the other partial disputed issues—gold, archives, Czechoslovak Airlines, the maritime fleet, buildings, and so forth.

Other outstanding issues pertaining to property division that are dealt with by the staff of the relevant ministries, the solution of which is monitored by the "Commission," are: the CSFR's share in the property of the former CEMA, the Czechoslovak Maritime Fleet, the division of archives (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic, Office for Industrial Ownership, Supreme Court), and the property of the former Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Statistics Office Releases Economic Data

AU3101142194 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jan 94 p 1

[Article by "ip": "Moderate Growth of Prices; Lasting Decline of Production"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The price growth slowed in the last three months of 1993, Rudolf Krc, chairman of the Slovak Statistical Office, told a news conference yesterday. Whereas in October prices rose 1.4 percent [compared with the preceding month], in November they rose 1 percent and in December 0.6 percent. [passage omitted]

Goods worth 314.4 billion korunas [Sk] were produced in industry in the first 11 months of the year, 13.9 percent less than in the same period the year before. The volume of building work reached the value of Sk39 billion, which was 23.4 percent less than in the first 11 months of 1992.

The Slovak Statistical Office has also released some data for December 1993. In livestock production, the numbers of cattle, pigs, and poultry continued to decline. Milk production reached 1.2144 billion liters, 8.7 less than in December 1992, while the production of eggs declined more than 11 percent.

Average industrial monthly wages in enterprises with 25 and more employees reached Sk6,942 in November, which was Sk1,034 (17.5 percent) more than in the same month the year before. Average monthly wages in construction stood at Sk6,573, in transportation at Sk6,206, and in retailing at Sk5,126. A month-to-month comparison shows a slight increase in the productivity of labor. A total of 368,095 job applicants were registered with labor offices at the end of the year. The number of unemployed increased 0.4 percent in the course of December (to 14.4 percent). An annual comparison shows an increase in employment by 4 percent.

Statistics Show Annual Growth of 16.7 Percent

AU0102135594 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 31 Jan 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Prices Went up in December Also"]

[Text] Bratislava—According to an analysis by the Slovak Statistical Office, consumer prices rose by 0.6 percent in December. Over the 12 months of 1993, however, in comparison with December of 1992, the prices grew by 16.7 percent, and in comparison with all of 1992 by 23.2 percent. Inflation increased in December last year by 0.6 percent in comparison with November and by 23.2 percent in comparison with the average of 1992. The increase in the price of eggs and egg products (4.1 percent) is most responsible for the overall increase in the price of food products (0.3 percent). In the nonfood group, prices rose by 0.2 percent in most of the categories surveyed, and by 0.5 percent in transportation and sporting accessories.

Czech, Slovak 1993 Arms Export Revenues

LD0102105794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Last year, the Slovak Republic exported arms and ammunition worth approximately $45 million. This was communicated to NOVY CAS daily by Karol Dropa, deputy head of department of special production at the Slovak Ministry of Economy. The essence of this export, in his view, was only one contract—namely, the export of tanks to Syria.

For the sake of comparison, the daily says that last year the Czech Republic exported military equipment and materials worth approximately $167 million, which is $17 million more than similar exports in 1992 by the former federation.

Jeszenszky's Visit to Belgrade Criticized

AU0102104894 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Jan 94 p 7

[Unattributed editorial: "Turn in Belgrade-Politics"]

[Text] For the time being, we know very little about [Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky's talks in Belgrade last weekend. We know even less about the reasons for the suddenly urgent visit. Therefore, we are forced to draw our conclusions from the statements of the foreign minister and his host in Belgrade and from the chance remarks made by [Prime Minister] Peter Boross in his radio interview on 29 January.

What we can find out is that there has been a turn in the Hungarian Government's Yugoslav policies.

The Hungarian statements suggest that the Yugoslav crisis has already been reevaluated in the secret rooms of international politics and Jeszenszky actually "forwarded the CSCE's stance" in Belgrade, in other words, he went there on a CSCE errand. This latter statement is doubtful to say the least, and there were no signs of the former up to last night. Therefore, these statements are nothing but mere self-justification.

The turn was probably brought about by the fact that, in the laboratories of Hungarian foreign politics, the view that "the Serbs have won" must have become dominant, and we have to make rapid use of the favorable moment. This view already almost prevailed in early summer 1993, but it did not manage to break through, because the need to catch up with the Atlantic side was then dominant. At that time, the view in the United Nations and NATO was that Milosevic and his Belgrade are responsible for the situation in Bosnia and the Croatian Krajina—even if the other sides in the fighting share this responsibility. This view has not changed since then.

It is a different matter that the international organizations seem to be impotent, they cannot find a way to a peaceful solution, and they will not enter into a military solution. However, they are still aware of what the running amok of the grand nation-state concept could mean if, after Milosevic and the Serbian victories were approved, it was let loose.

The foreign policy turn will probably be justified by the expected positive change in the situation of the Vojvodina Hungarians. The Hungarian Government is straying into an extremely dodgy area through this. The statement that Milosevic "is not averse to" the idea of territorial autonomy does not mean anything and is not worth anything. And to talk about the local assertion of democracy—as Jeszenszky does—is meaningless under dictatorial circumstances. For the same reason, it is impossible to appreciate the prime minister's statement that "a legitimate government is operating" there.

For of all these reasons, it is also doubtful if the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] is acting wisely when it enters into bargaining with Milosevic, who is hungry for support and success, on an autonomy plan which, in its final form, may give rise to further ethnic cleansing, and can incite conflict between the national minorities even in places where peace has so far been preserved.

Obviously, sooner or later, democratic order will also be established in Rump Yugoslavia. At that time, will the Hungarians be seen as the last ally of the dictatorship? Because its ethnic party committed itself to Milosevic with the active assistance of the mother country's government?

It would be appropriate to think in terms of the more distant future.

Russia's Zhirinovskiy Interviewed 30 Jan

AU3101164694 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 31 Jan 94 p 3

["AN Newspanorama"-attributed interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, at Ferihegy Airport in Budapest on 30 January: "Rowdy Soldiers in the Bar"]

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, spent a short time in Budapest on his way from Ljubljana to Belgrade. The correspondent of the AN Newspanorama interviewed him at Ferihegy Airport.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Mr. Zhirinovskiy! You have been traveling a lot lately. Are you also planning a visit to Hungary?

[Zhirinovskiy] I have an invitation here too, but I am invited to so many European countries now that I cannot yet tell when I can come here for a longer time.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Who invited you?

[Zhirinovskiy] Journalists, public figures, economists, and public organizations. Besides, I have already been to Hungary as a student in 1966.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Personally, with whom or with what political parties do you have contacts?

[Zhirinovskiy] With Janos Kadar....

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] That is the past; what about today?

[Zhirinovskiy] Actually, I have no contacts with anyone. I met with the representative of your liberal party in Helsinki in 1990 and we exchanged a few letters after that meeting, but that is all.... You know, the Hungarian liberals received a lot of money from the German liberals before the elections of 1990 and this helped them gain good positions at the elections, so they thought they would not need anyone. However, things did not turn out well for the Hungarians, because they have a lot of problems now.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Why do you think so?

[Zhirinovskiy] No one wants your Ikarus buses; these buses fill the air with smoke. These buses are not even required by us any more, and the West does not want Hungarian goods either.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In your opinion, what would be the correct road?

[Zhirinovskiy] To build up an Eastern community by making use of the former CEMA and Warsaw Pact contacts. Naturally, I think exclusively of economic and cultural cooperation, without communists and fascists. If we create our own Maastricht and our own Strasbourg, we will be able to compete with the West. No doubt, we will be better than the West with our economic reserves and potential. Then, you Hungarians will also be strong and free, not like now, when the old contacts have disintegrated and the West does not show any haste in opening the door for you. We should not throw out the good things. We must modernize the contacts in the new situation.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Could Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's upcoming visit have a positive effect on these contacts?

[Zhirinovskiy] Absolutely. We must restart the system that is advantageous for both sides. In my opinion, there is only sense in a regional cooperation, like a Danube region cooperation. There is no need to knock at the doors of the West, on foreign doors, and ask to be accepted in order to clean their boots and wash their cars. I hope you do not want NATO units to replace the former Soviet troops in Hungary and start feeding them now. Or do you want NATO soldiers massing it up in bars and pestering the girls?

MIEP Chairman Summarizes Election Program

AU0102092894 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Jan 94 p 4

["B.J."-initialled report: "The Nation-Building State in Focus—According to Csurka, the MIEP Is a 'Resolute Force'"]

[Text] On 29 January the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] decided on its election program at its national meeting of deputies. Cochairman Istvan Csurka summarized the program by saying: The MIEP is a resolute force..... The deputies accepted the party's election program, according to which the corporate tax would be reduced and, at the same time, the tax authorities would be given powers of investigation, and a secret police of economic crimes would be set up. In place of the discredited enemy image, they plan to set up a rank order of risks regarding our neighboring countries.

"We have to see that, according to the plans, the suit of power [as published] is to be put on the alliance between the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. However, to make this suit look good, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], that has by now collapsed, would also get a duffle coat and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] would get a jacket!" [sentence as published] This is how Istvan Csurka summed up the future of Hungarian domestic politics in his speech setting the program.

According to him, the real change of the regime has to be started, therefore, the power must not be left in the hands of those who have, up to now, been the rulers. This change of the regime would only actually affect 5,000 to 6,000 subordinates, and the army of 50,000 to 60,000 servants lined up behind them would immediately adjust to the new situation. Through this, those people who are ready to sell out Hungary without any principles at any minute would be removed from power straight away. Csurka did not leave any doubt in his audience as to the fact that the MIEP wishes to totally upset the current "pseudo-order" because the time for "real order" has come. The simple thesis that everything is based on lies in Hungary is the basis for this grand development of society. For this reason, the party declared fundamental changes in the order established by the [former Prime Minister] Antall era, and this might even mean that they will again start to fight against communism.

"What else could be meant by the apportioning in the left wing but the fact that they share out the fat jobs and the well- functioning economic areas between themselves. However, in the past four years, they have been doing the same, namely they have been distributing the areas that make them rich," Csurka said, and he set the direction of the MIEP's program as follows:

"We want to break with the state administration of [former Finance Ministers] Lajos Faluvegi, Laszlo Bekesi, and [Finance Minister] Ivan Szabo, and with the foreign policies of [former Foreign Ministers] Frigyes Puja, Gyula Horn, and [Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky, which destroy the nation. We are different from the other Hungarian political parties in the sense that, in addition to criticizing the disorders of domestic conditions, we actually do something against them. Therefore, our election program helps us to get into power, and the power is only a means for us to help implement our program that will improve the situation of the Hungarians! We can confidently say that we are the resolute force that will implement the real change of the regime."

Csurka said the following in conclusion:

I have to end my speech with the slogan of officers of the so- often cursed [former governor] Horthy 's army: Ladies and Gentlemen, victory or Siberia!

The first contribution was made by Lajos Posze, the sacked chairman and director general of the Szerencsejatek Rt. [gambling enterprise], and he suggested, among other things, that the state should take gambling under its own authority for at least five years, because it is an

untenable situation that 50 to 70 billion forints a year go into the pockets of the mafia people operating one-armed bandits while, lately, families have been brutally murdered for the income from gambling machines. According to Co- Chairman Lajos Horvath, quite a few of the high-ranking military leaders still continue to lead a double life.

He summed up the future of Hungary's foreign policy as follows:

We have been here for a thousand years and we want to stay for at least another thousand years. Therefore, it is an unnecessary and irreparable decision to sacrifice the Hungarian minorities for a hoped-for European Community membership. Foreign Minister Jeszenszky is still working against the Hungarians living beyond our border who are desperately seeking autonomy!

Horvath said that we must be clear about the current geopolitical situation, therefore, in place of the outdated and discredited enemy image, he suggested that responsible Hungarian politicians grade Hungary's neighbors according to risk.

Finally, let us read a section from the MIEP's election program.

"The chaos of the Antall era, with its quagmire and pact, appears to prove that it is impossible to create order because the group of leaders from the past period are stronger and will prevent this. Thank God, this is not true, either!

"This will was lacking in the Antall leadership.

"If the democratically elected political power has the will to create order then, with the support of the majority of people, the foundations of an order based on justice can be established in a short period of time.

"Where should this be started?

"People coming from the soft or hard one-party system dictatorships are weak and vulnerable, and only have the strength to empower someone through secret voting, in the privacy of the voting booths, to represent their interests, but have no time themselves to create the institutions, organizations, and constitutions of their just order.

"Therefore, the democratically elected new power and new government will have to create a new state whose primary goal is to put the disadvantaged strata of the Kadar-Aczel [former party chief and cultural minister] period into a good position, and to solidly represent their interests, at the cost, if necessary, of squeezing out the favored people of the former period. In the Antall period, exactly the opposite happened. Therefore, our program essentially contains the methods of implementing these tasks.

"This is why the nation-building state is the focus of our ideas."

Horvath Comments on Platform

LD3101220394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Interview with Lajos Horvath, cochairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] On 29 January the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] adopted its election program. MIEP Cochairman Lajos Horvath is to report to the listeners of "Extra" about the decisions made during the one-day meeting. [passage omitted] Mr Horvath, was this one-day meeting the opening of the election campaign?

[Horvath] Naturally, this was also the opening of the election campaign and, like every party preparing for the forthcoming tasks seriously, we also had to give a political program.

[Correspondent] Parties are usually stereotyped in their own country and abroad alike. You are called populist, national radical, and I have even heard that the MIEP is a national fundamentalist party. What do you consider yourself?

[Horvath] None of these. [passage omitted]

I think that the MIEP is a party which, in the Hungarian society of castes, wishes to represent the caste of those excluded, that is the majority caste. We consider that the old nomenclatura allowed into its own ranks a few people from the new parliamentary parties and created a new caste consisting of 100,000-200,000 people in this country, who can get access to everything in this country, while the majority is living in ever-deteriorating circumstances. So this is a national party representing their interests, in fact, a kind of people's party.

[Correspondent] How do you mean that 600,000 people [as heard] were allowed inside the nomenclatura? Who are inside, the ruling parties, members of the coalition?

[Horvath] Well, the people of the ruling parties and the coalition were let inside this nomenclatura, and the old members have not really left. So the compromise between the two sides was the great compromise of 1990.

[Correspondent] But members of your party were also party to this great compromise, since the MIEP then was still part of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum].

[Horvath] This was one of the initial reasons for leaving the MDF, for instead of the change deemed real by us, this compromise took place. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Are you going to form an election alliance with [illegible] body? Which parties do you consider as potential par[illegible]rs? For if you intend to participate in the government, you will have to form a coalition, but with whom, with the MDF, Fidesz [Alliance of Young Democrats], the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party]?

[Horvath] I think that these three parties are out of the question. First of all, perhaps I can start at the level of self-organization of society, for this is always more important that the political parties; the Farmers' Circles [Gazdakoeroek], Peasant Alliance [Paraszt Szovetseg], Society for the Protection of [Hungarian] Intellectual Life [Szellemi Vedegylet]. [passage omitted] Representatives of the KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party] and the Independent Smallholders' Party were also present at our consultation, as guests, which also shows that the MIEP, on today's political scene, is a national people's party undertaking Christian and Smallholders interests also. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. Csurka said that the people wish to overturn the present pseudo-order completely. What should one understand by this?

[Horvath] What I said earlier; there is a pampered stratum of society which exercises the jobs-for-the-boys principle. [passage omitted] For example, one-time comrades, now bank president or industrialist, can lend each other hundreds of millions, and if the loan goes down the drain at the end, the state will bail them out with its program of bank consolidation with taxpayers' money. [passage omitted] The MIEP wants to replace this pseudo-order with a real order.

The manifestation of this pseudo-order in parliament is the six- party consensus, which somehow always comes about in parliament eventually. You mark my word, in most cases, outside the plenary sessions the six parties sign an agreement somewhere else, and at the plenary sessions only a pretend debate takes place. They say that there is a consensus. This is making a mockery of parliamentarianism a bit, this is a pseudo-order.

[Correspondent] However, according to my information the MIEP is not in favor of a witch-hunt, but in spite of this you intend to sack 5,000-6,000 leaders. How can you reconcile this?

[Horvath] Innocent people must not be burned at the stake, but where witches can be found, Christians have to take action.

[Correspondent] Mr Csurka said once that if there were not an overwhelming cultural revolution in Hungary, that would mean the end of the nation; after the Chinese Cultural Revolution, this sentence has a somewhat unpleasant connotation. What do you mean by this ?

[Horvath] We mean something entirely different. [passage omitted] The Hungarian cultural revolution, if I may say so, is only a figure of speech. What it means is that in the country there should be education and support for culture which prioritize Hungarian interests and values. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Are you in favor of the present Hungarian foreign policy of trying to join NATO?

[Horvath] I think it is very important that Hungary join every European institution. We also consider it important not to keep begging for admittance like a dog with its tail between its legs, but to clarify the conditions and in turn we should give our own conditions, and this is how consensus should form. This means that a few fundamental national interests must not be given up, for example, the autonomy aspirations of the Hungarians living in the neighboring countries. We consider them so important that we can not give these up in order to be admitted to the European Community. The prime example, that if a nation fights for autonomy steadfastly and tenaciously then it achieves that, is Palestine. [passage omitted]

Pawlak's Brussels Visit, 'Partnership' Decision

WS0102124394 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Feb 94 p 23

[Article by Maria Wagrowska: "Signature on 'Partnership'. Prior to Prime Minister Pawlak's Visit to Brussels"]

[Text] *The Council of Ministers is scheduled to make a decision today on whether Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak will sign a document committing Poland to joining the program of cooperation with NATO known as "Partnership for Peace" during his visit to NATO Headquarters in Brussels tomorrow. The government's decisions to date justify a supposition that this kind of authorization will indeed be formulated for the prime minister, said Andrzej Olechowski, Poland's chief diplomat, during Monday's [31 January] press conference at the Office of the Council of Ministers.*

Olechowski stated he will submit a motion to the government requesting that it approve a resolution authorizing the prime minister to sign the document. Observers deem the Council of Ministers' acceptance as virtually certain, although, as is widely known, Poland has reservations with regard to "Partnership for Peace" because it says the program provides no guarantees for future membership of our country in the Western alliance. In a separate conversation with RZECZPOSPOLITA, Jerzy Milewski, who is chief of the National Security Bureau and first deputy defense minister, said he believes the Council of Ministers will give the prime minister a "green light" enabling him to sign a so-called document of principles, in which the West outlined the main principles of the "Partnership" and which contains an invitation to take part in the program. Specific issues regarding NATO-Poland cooperation will be worked out during consultations which are to begin shortly.

Both "Partnership for Peace" and general relations with NATO are scheduled to be one of the main topics discussed during the prime minister's visit to Brussels, as well as during a meeting with the new first deputy secretary general of NATO, Sergio Silvio Balanzino of Italy (Manfred Woerner is seriously ill).

During the second day of the visit (3 February), Waldemar Pawlak will present a lecture at a conference organized by the Washington-based Strategic and International Research Center. The topic of the lecture will be the security of Poland and Europe in general. The prime minister will also be a guest of Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski. Regardless of the prime minister's participation, some personalities from Polish political life are also scheduled to take part in the Brussels conference—for instance, Professor Bronislaw Geremek. Polish National Bank Chairwoman Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz will be a representative of the Polish economic sector.

Apart from that, Waldemar Pawlak also, as the first Polish prime minister to do so, will meet with Willem van Eekelen, secretary general of the Western European Union.

During the unofficial part of the prime minister's visit to Brussels, some talks are also scheduled with EC Chairman Jacques Delors and also with European Parliament Chairman Egon Klepsch. The prime minister's associates, however, refused to let journalists know what specific topics would be discussed during the talks. All they said was that the new prime minister's second trip abroad (following the Prague summit with the U.S. and Visegrad countries' presidents) is supposed to emphasize Poland's efforts toward integration with the West, and that the visit is associated with the fact that on 1 February Poland's treaty of association with the European Union becomes effective.

Pawlak To Sign Plan

LD0102121294 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1100 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Council of Ministers will authorize Prime ministerr Waldemar Pawlak to sign documents in Brussels tomorrow on Poland's entry to the Partnership for Peace program.

Dorota Warakomska is currently outside the Council of Ministers' meeting room as ministers are going into the cabinet meeting.

[Warakomskais] Will the prime minister sign the Partnership for Peace tomorrow in Brussels?

[Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski] I think so. The Council of Ministers will ask him to do so. In any case, that is what I will be proposing. There is no reason why he will not sign.

[Announcer] [passage omitted] Before the cabinet meeting, Deputy Prime Minister Marek Borowski did not reply to a question asking if the prime minister had explained to him the reasons for the dismissal of Deputy Finance Minister Stefan Kawalec. Asked the same question, Prime Minister Pawlak answered simply: I've explained [wyjasnilem].

Further Olechowski, Official Views on EU

LD3101205694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The treaty on Poland's association with the European Union comes into force 1 February, two years after it was signed. Andrzej Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs, said at a news conference in Warsaw that from now on we would have new rights.

[Olechowski] "Poland, not only because of its aspirations but also in the institutional sense, occupies a

specific place in Europe. It is now joining the countries which have decided to achieve a historic task, rare on our continent, namely to get integrated into one body. The form which this body should take has, of course, been a subject of discussions. From now on, we shall also be able to influence this discussion and we shall be able to express our views on the future shape of the continent.'"

[Announcer] Now over to the minister of foreign economic cooperation, Leslaw Podkanski.

[Podkanski] "The preliminary agreement which expires today will be replaced by the Association Treaty, which gives us guarantees for the continuity of principles and conditions of trade between Poland and the [European] Community. The fundamental objective is to create in the next few years a free-trade zone for our state and the [European] Community states. The treaty, however, does not give the final ruling on the issue of agricultural products and fish."

[Announcer] When assessing the two-year transitional period, from the moment of signing until the moment when the Association Treaty comes into force, Minister Leslaw Podkanski said that at present almost three quarters of our exports find their way onto the EC market without any duties being levied. The minister added that until now a quarter of goods imported to Poland from the EC had been duty free. Minister Leslaw Podkanski:

[Podkanski] "As of 1 January 1995 we shall be able to export all goods duty free, apart from textiles and metallurgical products. When it comes to our concessions with regard to allowing EC goods onto the Polish market, from 1 January 1995 to 1 January 1999 we shall have to carry out a proportional reduction in the duties levied on all industrial goods, which are still in force."

[Announcer] Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, the government plenipotentiary for European integration:

[Saryusz-Wolski] "A whole package of agreements is coming into force. They concern not only a free flow of goods but also of services, capital and people, although people to a lesser extent. The association institutions are starting to function as well. This should put us in a better position to negotiate and improve the treaty further."

[Announcer] Our full membership in the European Union will complete the process of association. It is, however, not known yet when this will happen, Minister Andrzej Olechowski pointed out.

[Olechowski] "We have in this respect an unequivocal declaration from Copenhagen which says that it is in the interest of both sides that Poland should become a member of the European Union. For this reason it is a duty of both Poland and the European Union that Poland should become a member, and that this should happen in our lifetime. A schedule of specific steps will be needed for this purpose. We shall make efforts for such a schedule to emerge."

[Announcer] The minister of foreign affairs, Andrzej Olechowski, said that at the meeting of the Council of Ministers tomorrow he would ask the council to authorize Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak to sign during his forthcoming visit to Brussels, an agreement on Poland's membership in the Partnership for Peace program.

[Olechowski] "The decision concerning the prime minister's signing the document, which is an invitation to the Partnership for Peace [program], will be taken by the Council of Ministers tomorrow. If we look at the decisions made by the Council of Ministers so far, such an authorization will certainly be formulated. The Council of Ministers has already expressed its support for the Partnership for Peace [initiative] and Poland's willingness to take active part in this program."

[Announcer] Krystyna Kozioł was the author of this report from the press conference.

Discussions With Germany on Asylum Issues

LD3101170794 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1516 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw (DDP/ADN)—According to the German and Polish interior ministers, Manfred Kanther and Andrzej Milczanowski, there have been some initial difficulties with the implementation of the German-Polish asylum agreement. This is, however, normal and there is no question of Poland having circumvented the agreement, as was reported by some German media at the weekend, Kanther told journalists in Warsaw today.

In the six months after the agreement came into force on 1 July 1993, 2,697 people who had illegally entered Germany from Poland were turned over to the Polish authorities by the German side, Milczanowski said. Another 975 refugees were sent back under a simplified procedure.

During those six months there were only 28 cases where the Polish side refused to accept the persons to be returned. The main reason for this was problems with the interpretation of the papers which the German authorities must produce to document the refugee's transit route through Poland. The Polish side believes there are still some unresolved points regarding this question.

Kanther said, on the other hand, that the documents' plausibility was "sufficiently proven" by the agreements already reached. Nor did he wish to comment on the figures quoted by Milczanowski. Different categories in counting the refugees preclude any comparison. Milczanowski announced that liaison officers will be named by the end of February to bring about a more rapid settlement of contentious issues.

Milczanowski conceded that some of the persons returned from Germany have once again illegally entered Germany from Poland. This resulted among other things from the fact that he could not detain deported refugees

for longer than 48 hours in accordance with a decision by Poland's Constitutional Court. However, this problem would be "sorted out" during the next month and a half. Individuals refused entry should then be flown back to their country of origin within 48 hours.

Kanther and Milczanowski also discussed cross-border cooperation in fighting crime. An agreement to this effect is to be drafted in the near future. The ministers described cooperation between the interior ministries and police forces of both countries as smooth.

Return of Refugees Discussed With Germans

WS1001125194 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski: "Milczanowski Gives Promises to Kanther"]

[Text] Cooperation and joint interests in combating the problem of migration was declared on Monday [31 January] by German Internal Affairs Minister Manfred Kanther and his Polish counterpart, Andrzej Milczanowski. "The Germans do not have any complaints that they would like to submit to us," said Milczanowski following the conference. "Bonn-Direkt," an information program broadcast on Sunday evening in the second program of the German television network ZDF, carried a report on the complaints of the Federal Republic of Germany toward Poland for not implementing the duties stemming from an agreement on readmission signed on 7 May 1993.

It was stated on the ZDF program that Polish border troops employ all kinds of tricks just to avoid admitting refugees captured by German border police. However, the aforementioned agreement obliges Poland to begin asylum proceedings or return the refugees to their countries of origin.

The agreement on readmission, signed on 7 May 1993 by Poland and Germany, envisioned that from 1 July (that is, from the day the new asylum law came into force) until the end of 1993, Germany would be allowed to send back to Poland no more than 10,000 refugees; from 1994 on, there would be no limits. By the end of 1994, Poland is supposed to receive 120 million German marks to secure the borders and establish an asylum system.

The head of the German Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] spoke in Warsaw with President Lech Walesa, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, and Polish MSW Head Andrzej Milczanowski. At the conference following the meeting, no one spoke about Germany's complaints with Poland. Milczanowski even reported that the similarity of views of both ministers is as great as the convergence of their birthdays; they were born in the same year, the same month, and on the same day.

"We achieved a satisfactory agreement on the issue of readmitting foreigners who cross the border illegally."

"There are certain difficulties," conceded Kanther.

"Indeed, there are certain difficulties in the area of the interpretation of documents which are supposed to be a sufficient reason for us to admit asylum-seekers from Germany," said Milczanowski. He reported that from 1 July to the end of 1993, Germany sent 2,679 people to Poland; there were 28 controversial cases.

Kanther admitted that the German side has different data from those presented by Milczanowski, "but they cannot be identical because there are different legal categories."

Probably by the end of February, both sides will appoint liaison officers in the border areas. This step is supposed to make the process of establishing the identity of refugees "less bureaucratic" in situations when they have no documentation.

Asked by RZECZPOSPOLITA after the conference whether Poland had returned any refugees to countries of origin, he said that it had, but not by air. He was not able to say how many refugees we had sent away from Poland in this way.

During the conference the moderator did not let any of the Polish journalists ask a question; only German journalist were allowed to ask questions.

Daily on 'Leaked' German Plan on Security

WS1001115394 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Feb 94 p 23

[Article by Krystyna Grzybowska from Bonn: "Security of East Europe; Territorial Claims Forbidden"]

[Text] After Helmut Kohl left to meet with President Clinton, the Chancellor's Office leaked information on Bonn's plans to reconcile the security needs of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and the three Baltic states with support for Boris Yeltsin and Russian interests. These plans were discussed during talks in Washington. Bonn believes that the security needs of Poland and the other neighbors might, for the time being, be satisfied by decreasing the distance to the West European Union [WEU].

Germany wants to present the East European states, which have already signed association treaties with the European Union [EU], with an offer of membership in the European Political Cooperation, in the system of diplomatic consultations of the EU, which, in line with the Maastricht Treaty, will be replaced by a joint foreign policy.

In line with Chancellor Kohl's plans, Poland as well as other countries would take part in the meetings of political directors of foreign affairs ministries, and they would have the full right to express their opinions when joint policies on the most fundamental issues are established. At the same time, a process of shortening the

distance to the WEU would be ongoing; it would be harmonized with the integration with EU structures.

One could also hear in German diplomatic circles talk that, even though the entire "Partnership for Peace" proposal is still quite fuzzy, one thing, according to Bonn, must be made clear: Excluded from the "Partnership" will be any and all states making territorial claims on their neighbors.

FRG Consul on EU-Poland Relations, Pomerania

PM0101211094 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 22-23 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Gregor Knebl, FRG consul general in Gdansk, by correspondent Andrzej Palmirski; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Palmirski] Your previous post was with the diplomatic mission to the Sultanate of Brunei, where the national income per head of population is the highest in the world. I will not ask you to make comparisons, although I am sure plenty could be made, but to share with us your reflections concerning our new role as a country aspiring to membership of the free market.

[Knebl] It is true that Brunei is a very rich country, but it is also quite small and situated as far from Poland as it is from Germany. Poland, on the other hand, is a large country which, together with France, is our closest and most important neighbor. That is why I believe that, in these post-German-unification days, my principal task in Szczecin will be to keep highlighting the fact that Poland is a most important partner for Germany.

Thus, I am facing a major opportunity to engage my talents here, and the best thing about it is that it will not be routine work. As soon as the Berlin Wall fell, we faced new challenges, with the possibility of making new cross-border contacts, and with entirely new expectations from the people living on the two sides of the border. So I see it as my most important task in Szczecin to bring about the realization of all these aspects of our new neighborhood situation.

[Palmirski] The Odra-Nysa border is now the frontier line between the European Union [EU] and Central Europe. What are the chances of making sure that it will not become a dividing line between a community of wealth and a community of poverty?

[Knebl] I hope that that sort of dividing line will be abolished to the same extent that a similar line was abolished between Germany and France. That particular division does not exist any more. The whole process will, of course, take some time, just as in the case of our own western border.

A significant impulse lending an impact to the transformation process was the association agreement between the EU and Poland which, according to our intentions, will eventually lead to Poland's full membership of the Union. This is something that we are striving for on both sides.

Consequently, I hope that the dividing line between the present EU and Poland will gradually disappear in the future, and that Poland will enter more and more deeply into the Union's structures until finally it becomes completely integrated with the Union.

Many new initiatives are springing up nowadays from the background of these concerns, and the authors of these initiatives attempt to accelerate the whole process of integration. I am thinking here of the campaigns to create new Euroregions on both the Polish and German sides of the border....

[Palmirski] But the proposed "Pomerania" Euroregion appears at the moment to be sunk in deep slumber. What impulses are necessary to wake it up and bring it to life?

[Knebl] This will depend on both partners. Associations of parishes which have expressed the wish to create the new Euroregion have already been set up on both sides of the border. Both these associations are sovereign structures and it is entirely up to them when they decide to set a date for the creation of the Pomerania Euroregion. Nevertheless, if there are still some reservations on either side, we simply need more time for these to disappear. Patience is sometimes also needed in politics. It is just like in a good marriage: Before you enter into the contract, you should first consider your decisions very carefully, because the principle of the whole thing is that the marriage should be indissoluble.

[Palmirski] Your predecessor in this post, Mr. Reinald Roesch, rendered many services to the cause of Polish-German cooperation. What, in your opinion, will be the main directions of further cooperation?

[Knebl] It is the consul's brief during his mission to see to the development of economic cooperation. There is no need for me to dwell here on the more obvious consular concerns, such as attention to the legal and administrative problems affecting citizens who come into contact with us.

However, it appears that political contacts will be among the most important matters for us to deal with in this particular borderland area. After all, because of the complete change in the political situation after 1989, our partners appear in an entirely new light to us. The fields of action mapped out by the new pacts and treaties between Poland and the FRG are new, too. We are still discovering many new things about each other and we are still learning how to understand each other.

That is why I am very happy to have been so well received by the political leaders in your voivodship, from the voivode down. [passage omitted]

[Palmirski] Would you now be so kind as to comment on the case that keeps Everyone's emotions engaged: What

is your position concerning Zhirinovskiy's declarations about the changes in European borders that he proposes to make?

[Koebl] That particular issue belongs in the world of big politics. Everything pertaining to such concerns—and especially when these involve current developments in Russia—is within the competence of relevant figures at the Foreign Ministry in Bonn rather than a "minor" figure such as the consul in Szczecin. Consequently, I would prefer not to make any statements on these questions—which is not to say that I do not hold a personal opinion in these matters.... [passage omitted]

Walesa's Press Aide on Slovak Ties, Army Changes

WS0102103594 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Interview with Andrzej Drzycimski, press spokesman for Polish President Lech Walesa, by Piotr Swiac on the "Directly From the Belvedere" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Swiac] Shortly after a summit of the Visegrad Group leaders in Prague, President Walesa was host last week to Slovak President Michal Kovac. Despite some very friendly gestures at the meeting, some preannounced agreements were not signed, among them a transborder agreement.

[Drzycimski] It is a fact that there was a readiness on our part to sign the two agreements, but the Slovaks were not technically prepared to do so. From what President Kovac told us during the bilateral talks, they have 14 more agreements ready in their initial form, so it could be expected that during both the ministers' and the prime ministers' mutual visits—which, as announced, will take place in the immediate future—these agreements shall be signed.

But you know, you really must take a different kind of approach to this. Presidential visits do not necessarily always result in the signing of treaties, agreements, pacts, and so forth. The nature of such visits is completely different. These visits, I would say [hesitating], they open up....[Drzycimski changes thought] They raise the standards, they create opportunities, both for prime ministers and for ministers, but one should perhaps emphasize even more strongly that these visits also create opportunities for people who manage institutions, workplaces, for local governors on both sides of the border—these are the opportunities for them to kind of follow the [high-ranking officials'] lead. It is that aspect which will determine whether or not these meetings made sense.

The presidents of both countries—that is to say, Lech Walesa and Michal Kovac—discussed very significant political issues, which are important not only for the countries of the Visegrad Group but also for the countries of Central and East Europe as well. To us, Partnership for Peace, which has been accepted by all the countries of the Visegrad Group, is a path of some kind, that is to say, it may be such a path, but it may also be kind of a concealed attempt to rebuild a sphere of influence—the sphere from which we fled. In that regard, President Kovac, for instance, also focused our attention on the fact that our military cooperation is just excellent—both immediately across the border, and globally, between our two countries.

[Swiac] The issue of Partnership for Peace has a direct impact on issues linked with the Polish Army. We will see some changes in the Army. Those who are critical of these planned changes—the Sejm National Defense Commission among others—are charging [hesitating] that the changes will lead to a kind of elimination of the civilian part from the Army.

[Drzycimski] That is not possible for a very simple reason: If we intend to join NATO, then one of the preconditions....

[Swiac, interrupting] Exactly.

[Drzycimski] One of the preconditions is civilian supervision over the Army. But there is a general trend to retain civilian supervision in a determinant manner. In that area, there is no willingness to eliminate civilian supervision over the Army, neither on the president's part, nor, I think, on the part of the [Defense] Ministry. The reason is that if we were to do that, we would kind of contradict everything we have done so far. This entire change is not just for its own sake; it must at the same time have some safety valves which will guarantee that the Army is efficient and able to conduct a full mobilization if there is such a need. It is not the case that we live in an isolated world. There are different situations occurring around our country, in particular on the Eastern side. It is not the case that we are afraid of war. We do not expect a war to come from the outside, but what we want is that our country's territory is such that we have guarantees of its security and sovereignty.

Pawlak Reshuffles More Provincial Governors

LD3101195194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1644 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 31 Jan—The chairman of the Council of Ministers [Waldemar Pawlak] has made changes in top local state administration posts, the Government Press Office has reported.

The prime minister has recalled the following provincial governors as of 31 January:

Koszalin: Stanislaw Marian Socha

Zamosc: Marcin Zamoyski

The prime minister accepted the resignation of Miroslaw Styczen and recalled him from the post of Bielsko-Biala provincial governor as of 1 February. The chairman of the Council of Ministers thanked the former provincial governors for their work in the state administration.

After consulting the local self-government assembly [Sejmik], the prime minister appointed Zygmunt Wielogorski provincial governor of Siedlce as of 1 February.

Wielogorski is 45 and a law graduate of the Marie Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin. [passage omitted]

Since April 1992, he has been chairman of the provincial board of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] in Siedlce and a member of the PSL Supreme Council.

Cabinet Adopts Draft Law on Salary Control

WS3101135294 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29-30 Jan 94 p 1

[Article by K.J.: "New Mechanism for Salary Control; Council of Minister's Economic Committee Approved"]

[Text] *The Council of Minister's Economic Committee yesterday approved the draft of a law concerning a new mechanism for controlling salaries which, effective 1 April, is to replace a tax on excessive wage increases [popiwek].*

Enterprises would have to choose one of the four following methods to determine salary levels:

—An agreement with the local Chamber of the Treasury [Izba Skarbowa].

—An agreement signed between the enterprise's establishing agency and the manager—so-called managerial contract.

—Independent shaping of salary levels by the enterprise itself, on the condition that the ratio of aggregate profit and salary to one zloty of salary, as compared to the same kind of ratio last year, will not deteriorate.

—Establishing salary levels based on a government-fixed index of growth of the average monthly salary (the basis would be provided by the average monthly salary from the second half of 1993, or from all of 1993).

Enterprises would be forced to pay two zlotys on every zloty over established limits. Trade union activists received the draft this week. They now have a maximum of 30 days in which to conduct negotiations.

Iliescu on Russian 'Traditions,' Regional Ties

WS3101143094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Jan 94 pp 1, 18

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Ryszard Malik; place and date not given: "Now the Climate for Romania Is Better"]

[Text] [Malik] We can see Russia slowly but definitely returning to its imperial role. The politicians in Moscow are not going to abandon the influence on the course of events in Central and East Europe. Characteristic was the fact that Russia did not agree to Poland's admission to NATO, which, eventually, ended up in the "Partnership for Peace" initiative being approved at the NATO summit in Brussels. What is your evaluation of Boris Yeltsin's policy, of Russia's role, and what is your opinion on the attitude of Western states toward the countries liberated from Soviet hegemony?

[Iliescu] We should look at all the transformation processes under way in our region objectively and without emotions. We must remember that Russia was established on the ruins of the Czarist state in 1917 and, even though with other slogans and with the ideology of internationalism, it pursued the same imperialist policy of the Czars. It strove to submit the world to itself. The USSR was nothing but a continuation of Russia as it looked before 1917. The artificially established republics were steered centrally; all power was concentrated in the Kremlin. What has changed now? The Russia of Yeltsin is reverting back to the old Russian traditions—traditions going back to times before 1917: we have the Duma, we have the Czarist eagle as the emblem of today's Russia, there are also people who are referring to the past. There are conservative forces, which demand that the Russian state, in this way or another, control the neighboring states. I am thinking about our part of Europe and about our two neighbors.

A return to the past, especially to the past associated with a given state's strength, could be observed in all fallen empires: in Great Britain after World War II; in France in the 1960's, when Algeria, which wanted independence, was looked upon as an overseas part of France. Therefore, I want to emphasize that what we are observing today in Russia is not really surprising.

These are forces with which we must reckon; please note, however, that there are also progressive democratic forces, led by President Yeltsin. I hope that democracy will win; that new relations between Russia and its neighbors will develop in line with accepted rules of international politics, and that they will be friendly and will serve the interests of both sides. The historical process that is going on in today's world is very complex and we cannot really jump to any conclusions. I believe in the wisdom of politicians and assume that we all want a stable and peaceful Europe. The "Partnership for Peace" program seems to be a step in the right direction in this process.

[Malik] Romania sees, then, a possibility of Russia's membership in NATO?

[Iliescu] I hope that a certain general formula of partnership will be established which will in the future allow the Russian Federation to integrate with political and economic structures throughout Europe. I hope that Russia will find its niche in the community based on the rule of respecting the interests of all states. Today, a new international order is being constructed; this order is based on cooperation and understanding between all states and nations. It is a necessity, however, it is at the same time a guarantee of peace and stability.

[Malik] You are one of the few politicians in former socialist countries who is still in power after all the changes that have taken place. Could you reveal the source of this success?

[Iliescu] Once again we must go back to history. Romania was one of the states where the communist regime was very strict. However, at the time of intervention in Czechoslovakia and even earlier, Romania proved that it was not going to just passively follow the orders of the Kremlin. It was only the policy of the last decade, under the Nicolae Ceausescu regime, that led to an economic catastrophe, to unprecedented exclusion of the intellectual elites from political and economic life; in those years the elites were sentenced to a life of isolation. Building an autocratic economy and paying off the foreign debt at any cost were the most important achievements—in the negative sense—of the last communist leader of Romania. This is why the activities of the opposition were so radical; this is why we had a revolution that did not occur in any other former communist country. In the times of President Causescu, I was isolated for criticizing his policy in public. Because of that, I became a well-known personality—one can even say that I became popular. I did many things that did not exactly fit the compulsory model. When the revolution broke out, in December 1989, I found myself in the center of all the events and, perhaps because of my past, the people trusted me. I was elected chairman of the National Salvation Front. Then in the 1990 elections, I was elected president; finally, two years ago, the people once again supported my candidacy for the head of state. It looks like I am still enjoying the trust of the people.

[Malik] Mr. President, not long ago Romania was depicted as a country governed by former communists. The situation changed a little after a former communist leader won the elections in Lithuania and after a social-democratic party won the Polish elections. Did you not, at a certain point, get the impression that Western politicians wanted to force you, as it were, to leave the political scene?

[Iliescu] I get the impression that not only in the case of Romania, but in all the states formerly governed by communists, there is a certain ideological flaw in the way the West perceives us. The very term ex-communist has in our case negative connotations. I will ask the following

question: Should over 4 million members of the Romanian communist party now be isolated, excluded from the political and economic life? What should happen to the leaders of the opposition, such as Professor Emil Constantinescu (leader of the oppositional Democratic Convention comprised of 18 groupings—R.M.), who was the [communist] party's ideological secretary in the university? Former communist party members are in all the groupings today. Almost the entire intellectual elite in Romania was in the party. This is not the only criterion for evaluating people. This is not acceptable; it is a Bolshevik evaluation. We must build a new Romanian society and evaluate people according to what they can do. One must see things and people as they really are, without looking into the dossier at any cost.

[Malik] In Switzerland, in exile, lives former King Michael II. Why do you not want him to return to his fatherland?

[Iliescu] We must look at this problem without any emotions. The problem is whether Romania is supposed to be a monarchy or a republic. The Romanian people have already expressed their opinions on this subject in a referendum; they accepted the republican constitution. Monarchy was a certain stage in the history of Romania; there is no raison d'etre for its role in a new society. Indeed, there are various forces and people in our country that for various reasons want to restore the monarchy. These people are living with illusions—they want to return to the times before World War II. Today, that is simply impossible. Personally, I have nothing against the king. However, if he wants to return to Romania as a king, this is simply out of the question. Now, if he wants to come back here as an ordinary citizen, then he is welcome. Let me only add that it is not him that is the cause of all this commotion; he does not want to be a monarch any longer. Those who have caused it are people driven by nostalgia.

[Malik] Is it true that Romania is being isolated, that there are opinions in Bucharest that the state has been relegated to the sidelines of regional initiatives, and that entrance into the Council of Europe was delayed?

[Iliescu] Romania does not want to be isolated. It is true that we are being moved away. We wanted—fruitlessly—to become a member of the Visegrad Group and to join the Central European Initiative. We want to cooperate with all the states of Central and East Europe, including Poland. As far as the issue of admitting us to the Council of Europe is concerned, my evaluation is that it was the same ideological flaw—perceiving us as former communists. However, also as a result of our internal disputes, they are transferred to the international level. It is one of our weaknesses in the period of change. We know all about it.

The climate for Romania is now better. Everyone understands that including our country in the process of European integration will be in the interest of all Europe.

[Malik] Since I am speaking with you as the Romanian president, I cannot help asking you a question about the Republic of Moldova, which was established from the debris of the USSR. Is it possible, and is it very real, that Romania and Moldova will become one state? There will be a referendum on this very soon.

[Iliescu] Well, this is a very difficult issue given the present international situation. We must look at it objectively. We must respect international and interstate agreements that set the present borders in Europe. One cannot change the present status of borders in one point, because this would cause an avalanche of corrections; such an avalanche would be difficult to control and would place the stabilization of the entire continent in question.

As for the Republic of Moldova, it is one of the many states that were established after the collapse of the Soviet Union; processes of political and economic transformations are under way there. However, it must be remembered that Moldova is a territory that historically belongs to Romania; that Romanian is spoken there; and that the country has the same culture. The Soviet Union's annexation of Moldova was the result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact; however, Nikita Khrushchev was even smarter than Stalin and divided Moldova; as a result, today part of it belongs to Ukraine. Thus, now this concerns not only the Republic of Moldova, but also Ukraine.

We have good relations with Moldova and we will develop them in all areas. The answer to the question of when the unification of these states will be possible remains pure guesswork. No one knows that. If we assume that in the future united Europe there will be no borders and that there will be one great European nation, this issue will not be so emotional.

[Malik] Many national minorities live in Romania. Of these, the Hungarians are the most numerous. This is the cause of tensions in the relations between Romania and Hungary. What guarantees does Romania provide minorities?

[Iliescu] In Romania lives a Hungarian minority that consists of 1.7 million people. Just like all the other minorities, of which there are 14, the Constitution guarantees them all rights, it can develop without any hindrances, in peace, and with the feeling of stability. The minorities have their own representatives in the parliament. Even the smallest national groups, in case their representatives are not elected to parliament, are guaranteed a seat there. The Romanian Government has acknowledged the rights of the minorities for free development, in accordance with their needs, in every area. No matter whether they are Germans or Hungarians, all of them have the same rights as Romanian citizens. The rule that our country is applying is that minority members must be loyal citizens of Romania and observe all binding laws.

Now, as for our relations with Hungary. We have informed Budapest that we are alarmed at the extreme demonstrations of some political forces in Hungary which query the status quo in the region and demand extraordinary rights for the Hungarian minority in Romania, and not only here. We do not consent to the idea of territorial autonomy for any minority. For example, do the Germans living in Alsace-Lorraine in France have autonomy? We believe that these are issues that each state regulates in line with international law. Please bear in mind that one-third of Romanians live outside our borders. We are not trying to turn it into a problem; we are not bringing this issue up. We support the contacts of the Hungarians with their native country; however, we would also like them to be loyal citizens of Romania and to respect the law just like all the other citizens.

I believe that our relations with Hungary are good. Our economic contacts are on a very good level, I would say. I do believe that if we take a real look at the problems that need to be resolved and that need cooperation, we will render these relations normal and friendly. Just like the relations with any other state.

[Malik] Many economic problems of Romania have their origin in the war in former Yugoslavia. Does Romania, which has good relations with the new Yugoslavia, have any influence on this conflict? Is it doing anything to help end this conflict?

[Iliescu] Romania has never had any conflicts with former Yugoslavia. On the contrary, our relations are very good. As I see it, the disintegration of Yugoslavia was a positive event. After World War I, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was established which functioned very well; it settled disputes between various nations and various religions, the Muslims, Catholics, and Orthodox Church members. In World War II, the nations of Yugoslavia fought jointly against the German invaders. The disintegration of Yugoslavia is the result of the ending of the Cold War; it is the play of the interests of various states, such as Germany, which contributed to what happened. Romania today has good relations with the new Yugoslavia, with Slovenia, and with Croatia. We would like the conflict in Bosnia to be settled quickly and peacefully. We are trying to help this cause as much as we can. We have historical, political, economic, and cultural relations with this region. It is also in our interest to finally settle this dramatic conflict.

[Malik] Mr. President, Polish-Romanian relations have a long tradition. They have always been friendly. How do you evaluate them today?

[Iliescu] I would first of all like to emphasize that we attach great importance to our relations with Poland and their development. First, because we cooperated many times in the past and many times we were on the same side of the barricade. We were linked by the same problems. Our neighbors were great empires which attempted to submit us to themselves. Right now we are facing a great challenge related to the process of democratic transformation and the introduction of a market economy. Therefore, it is with sorrow that I speak about the unfriendly treatment of Romania; you write about our state being a country of Gypsies; your mass media, including the newspaper that you represent, present only a negative picture of Romania. Why is that? Is it because Poland is enjoying great sympathy in Romania and because the Romanians admire Polish culture?

We are both surprised and alarmed at this reservedness on the part of Poland toward Romania.

However, I am an optimist and I hope that in the immediate future better times for Polish-Romanian relations will come. Using your newspaper, I would like to inform all your readers about my optimism and about the great sentiment that the Romanian people have for Poland and Poles.

Government Opposes Military Action in Bosnia

AU2801161494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman for Romania's Presidency, held his weekly news conference today at Cotroceni Palace. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the upcoming visit to Romania of the two cochairmen of the Geneva peace conference, David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, Chebeleu said that Romania intends to support and encourage the two cochairmen and reasserted that our country opposes a military settlement of the conflict and that a viable solution should come solely from within former Yugoslavia.

Interview With FRY's Jovanovic Published

AU3001172294 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 26 Jan 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Alexandra Andon in Bucharest; date not given: "The Embargo and the Illusion of Peace Through the Use of Force"]

[Text] [Andon] What is the meaning of this sudden visit to Bucharest?

[Jovanovic] It is not exactly a sudden visit, we have had a steady practice for quite some time now, to carry out political contacts regularly. We have continued this practice in spite of sanctions. This time we have examined the stage of projects for bilateral accords that the prime ministers of the two countries agreed upon in October 1993.

[Andon] What kind of bilateral accords are you referring to?

[Jovanovic] We are talking about a long-term economic cooperation accord, whose drafting has reached the final stage. Likewise, we are talking about the basic bilateral accord and about the cooperation accord in the area of health, culture, and ecology. We wish that the lifting of sanctions should find us prepared.

[Andon] How long do you think the embargo is still going to last?

[Jovanovic] This embargo should not have been imposed in the first place. It was imposed as an idea for the reestablishment of peace in Bosnia but it has become the major obstacle in the path of peace because the Muslims rely on those sanctions and, therefore, they oppose peace. They believe that through sanctions they will obtain victory since they could not obtain victory in any other way in this war. An increasingly greater number of countries are aware of this fact. The most important thing is that the neighboring countries, which are the most affected by these sanctions, should oppose this irrational and absurd policy.

[Andon] Which countries give you signs that they support the lifting of the embargo?

[Jovanovic] First of all the European Union has linked the reestablishment of peace in Bosnia to the lifting of sanctions, asking that Serbs should fulfill certain conditions that they have already fulfilled. The Americans oppose the lifting of the embargo because of their overall interests in the region. But such countries as Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, and even Hungary started to give positive signs in this respect and they support the lifting of the embargo. The same can be said about big countries such as Russia, China, India, Brazil, Ukraine, Belarus, and among the members of the European Union Italy and Spain have become more flexible. Sanctions are a factor that directly influences the continuation of the war and might lead to a rapid destabilization in the Balkans.

[Andon] How far from or how close to a result are the Geneva negotiations? What is the major obstacle in the path of those negotiations?

[Jovanovic] The major obstacle is the sanctions because they give the Muslims the illusion that they can continue the war. However, actions of support for lifting the embargo have not been prepared yet and the international community can still not oppose the Islamic world, those rich Arab countries which support Izetbegovic's [Alija, president of Bosnia's Presidency] blackmail. Through him, they aim at the establishment of a unitary Muslim Bosnia in the center of Europe.

[Andon] You held talks in Bucharest with your Romanian counterpart Teodor Melescanu about the relations of the two countries with other countries in this area, namely with Albania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. In concrete terms, what are the results and the conclusions of those talks?

[Jovanovic] We agreed that we have to renew inter-Balkan cooperation, as part of the process of European integration. Certainly, it is still too early to talk about precise terms. First we have to be out of the woods and then cry "halloo."

[Andon] What role have the relations with Romania played in the context of Yugoslavia's quasi isolation?

[Jovanovic] They have played the role that derives mostly from the reality that the two countries have never had conflicts throughout their history. Thus, Romania and Greece made possible that this monstrous wish to isolate Yugoslavia completely has never been achieved, and this helped other countries as well to adopt a more independent view regarding relations with Yugoslavia. We have had scores of political contacts and visits. First of all with Romania and Greece but also with countries that are situated farther, such as India and China.

[Andon] Have you received signs from any country that, after the lift of embargo, they would like to have economic cooperation with Yugoslavia?

[Jovanovic] Yes, from several countries. As a matter of fact, even now businessmen from Germany and France, that is, countries that have a very tough stand toward Yugoslavia, sell goods to us. Others are afraid that they may lose the market. Currently we are preparing bilateral economic accords—the type we have with Romania—also with Ukraine, India, Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, and probably with Hungary as well. Many countries feel that sanctions will not last long and they want to return to the Yugoslav market.

Supreme Defense Council Endorses 'Partnership'

AU3101193494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] President Ion Iliescu chaired an ordinary meeting of the country's Supreme Defense Council at Cotroceni Palace today. The first point of the agenda was an examination of the documents adopted by the North Atlantic Council summit in Brussels on 10-11 January, that is the declaration of the heads of state and government and the Partnership for Peace [PFP] documents. The discussions on this agenda point were also attended by Messrs. Oliviu Gherman and Adrian Nastase, presidents of the two parliamentary chambers, as guests.

The communique received by fax from Cotroceni Palace, points out that, by adhering to the PFP Romania, along with the other partners, is thus reiterating its commitment to fulfill, in good faith, the obligations included in the UN Charter and the principles of the Human Rights Declaration, as well as the commitment to observe the CSCE Final Act and other CSCE documents.

Unanimously endorsing Romania's adherence to the PFP as a transitory stage toward full integration in the North Atlantic Organization, the Supreme Defense

Council also endorses further cooperation with NATO to achieve the goals stipulated by the basic document. The Supreme Defense Council adopted a number of preparatory measures to facilitate the fulfillment of the obligations incumbent upon Romania through the adherence to the PFP. It was also decided that, in working out the presentation document, the established team of experts—consisting of representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense—should consult with specialists nominated by NATO. Similarly, consultations should be conducted with the heads of the political parties represented in Parliament in order to finalize the document.

Also today, the Supreme Defense Council examined and endorsed a report on the strategy and program for mobilizing the national economy in case of emergency and suggested that the government should correlate these documents with Romania's reform program and the special PFP program.

The Supreme Defense Council also endorsed a report on the activity carried out by the country's Supreme Defense Council in 1993, which will be submitted to Parliament. At the same time, the Council's activity plan for the current year was also approved. The latter will be completed with certain activities resulting from the need to schedule various other actions and obligations devolving on Romania from the special PFP program, after its content is known.

The Council also endorsed the proposals on establishing the legal status of military cemeteries and commemorative war monuments at home and abroad as well as the legal status of foreign soldiers buried on Romanian soil.

Timisoara Citizens Protest Iliescu's Visit

AU0102064794 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Jan 94 p 3

[Ion Medoia report: "Defiance"]

[Text] Protesting the president's visit in the martyr city [Timisoara], Traian Orban, a person who was wounded in the revolution, laid his body across the tram rails. Iliescu laid a wreath in the Cemetery of the Martyr Heroes. The fact that the president visited the military barracks in Lipovei Street, where on 17 December 1989 13 young persons were murdered, was simply an act of defiance. During Iliescu's meeting at the County Prefect's Office, the building was "protected" by hundreds of policemen and members of the riot police.

From the very beginning, while coming down the stairs of the presidential plane, Iliescu declared that he had a special interest, including a "personal" one (?!), in that town. Romania's president was present for the second time in the martyr city. His visit began with a classical working visit [reference to Ceausescu's working visits in the country], following every rule of such visits, at the first factory that lay in Iliescu's way, namely the FILTY [as published] company. Iliescu also hastily visited the Cemetery of the Martyr Heroes, where he laid a wreath in a contemptuous silence. At the military barracks situated in Lipovei Street, belonging to the same unit which in 1989 December opened fire against the demonstrators thus killing 13 young persons, the military had the "honor" of personally meeting Ion Iliescu, the eminent president. The current leader of the country passed without even casting a glance at the heroes' mothers who had lined up in front of the barracks. While Iliescu was chatting amiably with the commanders of the unit, the bereaved mothers were crying at the barrack gates and chanting: "Iliescu, don't forget, Timisoara doesn't want you!" or "Let us put him on trial here, in Banat!" and "Down Iliescu!"

The peak of Iliescu's visit was his meeting in the County Prefect's Office building, which was surrounded, as it had never been before, by the police and the riot police. The president was almost one full hour late. Considering the visit as an act of defiance against the dead and the wounded [in the revolution], Traian Orban, who was wounded in the bloody December, laid himself across the tram rails as a sign of protest.

Inside the County Prefect's Office, which formerly used to be the headquarters of the PCR [Romanian Communist Party] Timis County branch, the president met with close aides of the former county secretary of PCR, Iliescu [sentence as published]. The atmosphere of the meeting was strained. Realizing how embarrassing the situation was, as the meeting was "populated" by former PCR officials, many people who had been invited to attend started leaving the hall.

As Iliescu's memories of the "golden age" are related too much to Timisoara, the president did not have the necessary time (and desire) to meet with that county's revolutionary organizations. The presidential counselors promised them separate talks. Now, in the evening hours, while our correspondent is sending this report, the Prefect's Office building is under siege by thousands of Timisoara citizens who are booing to express their protest with respect to the presidential visit.

Bulgarian Defense Delegation Arrives on Visit

'Partnership,' Balkans Discussed

AU2801171194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] A military delegation led by Bulgarian Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov arrived in Bucharest today. The delegation had talks with a military delegation led by Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, Romanian minister of national defense. The sides discussed issues pertaining to NATO's initiative on the Partnership for Peace, the situation in the former Yugoslav territory and its impact on the Balkans, and measures taken thus far to restructure and modernize the military bodies of the two neighboring countries.

The sides also pointed out their joint desire to develop the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two armies, concludes a fax received from the Army's Press Bureau.

Cooperation Accord Signed

AU2901193494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] Today Romanian President Ion Iliescu received a military delegation of the Republic of Bulgaria led by Bulgarian Minister of Defense Valentin Aleksandrov. After the meeting, the Bulgarian guest expressed his satisfaction with the talks held with the head of the Romanian state.

At the end of the visit of the Bulgarian military delegation, Mr. Valentin Aleksandrov held a news conference that was attended also by Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, Romania's minister of defense, and by members of the leadership of the Romanian National Defense Ministry. The journalists were presented the content of the accord of cooperation between the two armies signed this morning by the defense ministers of Romania and of Bulgaria.

The document provides for cooperation in the area of training personnel, instructing troops, control in the area of disarmament, in the technological, economic, and medical areas and in social and sports activities.

Minister Valentin Aleksandrov discussed the importance of this document saying that it is a new step toward strengthening relations between the two armies and it will make a contribution to increasing confidence between Romania and Bulgaria.

Other issues approached during this news conference were connected with ensurance of security in the Balkan region and in the whole of Europe, as well as ways to approach the issue of war in the former Yugoslavia. The sides noted that the two states have common viewpoints on ways to find solutions to this conflict.

UDMR Note to Council of Europe Described

AU0102132694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] last week sent an aide memoire to the Council of Europe regarding observance of the recommendations made by the Council of Europe when Romania was admitted as a full member. This aide memoire has been signed by UDMR President Bela Marko and Executive President Csaba Takacs, the UDMR press bureau reports.

The document emphasizes that the UDMR supports, without reservation, the recommendations made by the Council of Europe, which it views as mandatory in the democratic transformation process that is taking place in Romanian society. The aide memoire sent to the rapporteurs for Romania in the Council of Europe divides the recommendations into four categories to which Romania has pledged to abide, but in the implementation of which certain political forces—that is Romania's Government—do not manifest the necessary political will: the signing and ratification of certain international accords; problems regarding rights of ethnic minorities; legislative problems; and the law-governed state.

Without claiming to exhaust all problems, the document lists those problems that, according to the UDMR, are expected to be solved: Use of the mother tongue in the administration, justice, and education of all grades; use of bilingual inscriptions; ensuring equal chances for the assertion in the economy, especially in the area of privatization; adoption of the law on ethnic minorities and of the education law; separation of the powers in the state; the independence of the judicial power; decentralization; restitution of nationalized church properties; the genuine independence of the audiovisual media; the urgent solution of the situation of those who have been sentenced on ethnic grounds; and so forth.

The UDMR believes that the solution of these problems is indispensable for Romania's integration into European structures and expresses the hope that the international body—the Council of Europe—which has shown trust in Romania by admitting it as a member with full rights will seek more efficient ways and means to enable it to support our country, so that Romania can be integrated in European structures, the UDMR emphasizes, as cited by ROMPRES.

Article Warns Against Using 'Chinese Model'

AU3001193394 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Jan 94 p 1

[Gheorghe Boldur-Latescu editorial: "The Chinese Model"]

[Text] No doubt political analysts as well as many of our more experienced fellow citizens still remember that after almost 20 years of terrible communist terror, starting in 1964 in our country there was a period of relative political and economic relaxation, with actual positive effects on the people's standard of living.

"The Romanian spring," as some people called this period, ended in 1971, after Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Asia. He returned enthusiastically from what he saw in China, where the aberrant and bloody "Cultural Revolution" was in full process of implementation. The darkest period of the Bolshevik totalitarianism in Romania began after that visit. That was a period that ended only with the anticommunist revolution of 1989. The application of the Chinese model—because, in fact that is what this was all about—in the 18 years of the Ceausescu dictatorship left tragic marks on the Romanian people in the biological, psychological, economic, social, and moral sphere and many of those marks can be felt even today.

Four years after the December 1989 events, the history of the application of the Chinese model seems to be repeated. In a moment when, with immense efforts and sacrifice and in spite of the opposition of those nostalgic Communists, complex processes are taking place in Romania aimed at gradually leading toward democracy, free economy, and European reintegration, a careful observer might distinguish with astonishment and fear certain elements that suggest a new attempt to follow the Chinese model, with the appropriate modifications that it went through in the decades that have passed since it had been implemented by Mao Zedong.

In this respect, one cannot ignore the numerous visits paid in recent months to China by important personalities of the current leadership, among them Adrian Nastase [president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian Parliament and president of the ruling Social Democracy Party of Romania] and Mircea Cosea [chairman of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform].

However, we should pay special attention to the fact that some declarations made very recently by President Iliescu and Adrian Nastase are very close to the general concept of the Chinese model, the way it has been remodeled in the past years by Deng Xiaoping. For example, during the talks held at Cotroceni [Presidency] with the representatives of the Democratic Convention, the head of state let it be understood that the current leaders are ready to hold dialogue with the opposition, but in no way can there be a question of sharing power, although the catastrophic situation of our country and the obvious lack of confidence of the public in the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] and in its allies would make a change of government imperative for the benefit of the country. This position adopted by Mr. Iliescu has been confirmed also by the president of the Chamber of Deputies, on the occasion of an ample interview granted to the Romanian Television on Monday, 17 January, immediately after the major current events program of that evening. In the interview, the leader of the ruling party shared with millions of television viewers who were following the program another idea that derives from the Chinese model, namely that privatization is not a goal in itself. The Chinese leaders have launched in recent years the concept of "socialist market economy" which is a flagrant contradiction of terms, because the socialist economy (in fact the communist economy) is not compatible with the market economy, as can be seen from the tragic experience of the past 75 years. However, market economy cannot exist without massive privatization, the proof of it being what is currently happening in our country and in the former communist countries which carry out half-measure reforms. The two major leaders of the current neocommunist power in our country have also spoken out for other "theses" that derive from the typical cliches of the Chinese models. Thus, on the occasion of the visit paid to Cotroceni by Mrs. Madeleine Albright, the representative of the United States to the United Nations, Mr. Iliescu stated that the current economy is going through a crisis of system and its major cause is the contradiction between rich and poor countries. In turn, during his aforementioned television interview, Mr. Nastase affirmed that Romania's admission to the Euro-Atlantic structures does not depend on the democratic reforms in our country but on our geostrategic position.

Thus, the phantom of the Chinese model is haunting our country again, but this does not stop us from being optimists, just as we have been so far. If we look at what happened in less than three years to the "glorious Soviet Union" and to the aberrant ideology on which the colossus with clay legs that frightened the civilized West for three quarter of a century relied, we can predict what is going to happen in a few years to the other communist colossus that tries to invent new funny formulas of survival. The same thing that will happen to those who try to follow that model. There is nothing we can do except tell all of them at the right time: "God forgive them for the evil they inflicted on humanity," because we are too small to do this.

Zhirinovskiy Addresses Rally in Bijeljina

LD3101160594 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Report by Mladen Krsmanovic on Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's address to a rally in Bijeljina; Zhirinovskiy speaks in Russian fading into Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Krsmanovic] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, president of the Russian liberals, took the floor at the rally amid tumultuous applause. Addressing the rally, Zhirinovskiy said he had come from Russia which, although far away in the north, had close fraternal links with the Serb nation. He said: We consider you as our brothers. I represent the party that won at Russia's first free elections. Our party came first. The Russian people elected this party knowing that it was the party of a new Russia, the party of a new foreign policy, the party of cooperation with the Serb people, and added:

[Zhirinovskiy] I promise you that I will make radical changes in policy very soon. I have already demanded that Minister Kozyrev tell the entire world clearly that the Russian Government and the Russian parliament are on the side of the Serb people.

[Krsmanovic] After this Zhirinovskiy pointed out that there were different countries in the territory of former Yugoslavia bearing different names. He said this territory was once called Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it is the Serbs who are living in this region. They should be asked if and when a new name is given to this country and when the borders of Serbia are determined, said Zhirinovskiy and added:

[Zhirinovskiy] Catholics from the West, Muslims from the East, some enemy forces from the North—they all want to take a chunk of Greater Serbia for themselves, and they think that we will agree to it. We will never agree to it and Russia will help you. It will punish those who want to divide the Serb land. This policy has been going on for 100 years now. Every 50 years they start a war in the Balkans or somewhere else, and each time the victims are the Serb and the Russian people. Our message to the whole world today is that a new historic era is in the making. We shall put an end to the policy of playing games with the destinies of the Serb and Russian people once and for all.

[Krsmanovic] Addressing more than 15,000 people gathered in the square of King Peter I the Liberator in Bijeljina, Zhirinovskiy said that he was speaking from the center of Serbia, from the seat of the territories which have historically and by right belonged to the Serb people. He made a special note of Russian solidarity.

[Zhirinovskiy] I would like to give you some encouragement. The governments of some foreign countries that have applied (?methods of) pressure are now threatening air strikes because their other policy has failed. If one single bomb falls on a Serb town I warn them, on behalf of the strongest party in the Russian parliament, that this is a declaration of war against Russia and that we will punish them for it. They have two standards of democracy: According to them, the destruction of Serbs and Russians is democracy. But when we defend ourselves, they call it fascism. We do not fall for these double standards. I therefore hope that the Serbs become even stronger. I wish you courage, strength, and optimism. Look ahead proudly as a great nation. The great Russian nation is behind you.

[Krsmanovic] Zhirinovskiy ended his speech with these words to the rally in Bijeljina today: We have one church, one language, one history—the same destiny. This destiny will be a happy one in the 21st century, and the future will be happy for all Russians and all Serbs.

This afternoon Zhirinovskiy is expected to meet Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina, in Vukovar.

Karadzic Expects Conflict To Be Settled 'by War'

AU0102135894 Paris AFP in English 1334 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 1 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said he expected the Bosnian conflict to be settled by war, in a statement Tuesday [1 February] to the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA.

"The international community is going to allow the conflict to be settled by war, which means that the world will give Moslems credit for land acquired through fighting. This same principle should be adopted for the Serbs," he said.

The military headquarters for the self-proclaimed Serb republic of Bosnia on Monday decided to mobilize "everyone able to be mobilized, including women," in order to "end the war as quickly as possible."

A reorganization of the army, as well as the introduction of "stricter measures regarding deserters" were decided by the chief of staff of the Bosnian Serb army.

Karadzic, quoted by SRNA, said Bosnian Serbs' military goals were to "modernize its army, increase its efficiency, ensure the defense of our republic and vanquish our enemies."

This required "the entire nation to mobilize for work or war," he said.

Bosnian Serb military commanders have repeatedly charged that the Moslem-majority Bosnian Government Army is preparing a large-scale offensive for the spring.

The Bosnian Serb leader also repeated his opposition to reopening the airport at Tuzla, the Moslem-controlled city in northeastern Bosnia. "Any reopening of Tuzla airport is not motivated by humanitarian reasons but by military reasons," he said.

The stage for more fighting was set after the last attempt to negotiate a settlement to the Bosnian conflict, two days of talks by the warring parties in Geneva last month, failed to make any progress. European Community negotiator David Owen at the time said the sides appeared to be gearing for new offensives after the winter, after 21 months of war.

U.S. Accused of Supplying Arms to Muslims

LD2801183894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Text] Jagodina, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, said today that international power brokers were doing as they pleased and were playing cruel games with the nerves of an entire nation that wants only what belongs to it.

Commenting for Radio Jagodina [in Serbia] on the latest threats of military intervention and proposals to lift the arms embargo for the Muslim side only, Karadzic said that the Bosnian Serbs have done everything for a peaceful solution but they were still exposed to relentless threats.

In reality, Srebrenica has never been a problem because we have allowed the Dutch battalion to replace the Canadian unit. However, the international community needs to aggravate the situation due to its obligations to the Islamic states. France wants to humiliate the NATO alliance and cause its downfall and so forth, Karadzic said.

Karadzic said once again that the opening of Tuzla airport was out of the question because this would mean that the Muslims would receive large amounts of weapons, which they were getting anyway.

It is absurd to discuss the lifting of the embargo on weapons for the Muslims when they have been receiving them from the Americans and Islamic states for a long time. The Muslims are well armed and, according to their own claims, they have 200,000 soldiers. We think that they have even more, Karadzic said.

He also spoke of the discrepancy between Europe and the United States in respect of the ways for solving the Bosnian crisis and about the increasing number of claims by certain states that negotiations were no longer necessary as the Muslims were scoring victories on the battlefield.

The Serbs could be interested in this option. If we are talking about a status quo, the Serbs will keep 70 percent of the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina or possibly go down to 64 percent to which we have the right in the name of peace. If the Muslims opt for war, all percentages will be out of the question, Karadzic said.

Karadzic said that the option chosen by the Muslims and their allies was already clear, adding that this would perhaps finally be revealed as early as the next round of Geneva negotiations scheduled for 10 February.

Humanitarian Aid Situation Likened to Somalia

AU0102081094 Paris AFP in English 0217 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Zenica, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 1 (AFP)—Humanitarian groups in Zenica have introduced drastic security measures to protect aid workers following the murder of a British aid worker believed to have been killed by Islamic fundamentalist mercenaries.

Aid workers have also reported thefts and problems with local people driven to desperation through hunger and hardship. One aid worker said the situation in the central Bosnia Moslem enclave was getting like Somalia where food aid has been routinely looted by armed gangs.

In response to a request from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) a contingent of UN British troops moved into Zenica from their nearby base of Vitez on Friday to reassure members of non-governmental organisations (NGO).

On Thursday [27 January] night, Paul Goodall, Simon King and David Court, all three employed by the British government-sponsored Overseas Development Agency were kidnapped at gunpoint while driving in Zenica.

They were taken to a spot outside the town where Paul Goodall, a father of four, was shot dead and the other two were wounded as they jumped into an icy river to escape.

Three men believed to have been among the killers were shot dead Monday by Bosnian military police when they tried to break through a road block near Sarajevo.

They were described as being of Arab appearance with false Pakistani passports. Another three suspected Islamic "muhajedeen" mercenaries are being questioned by police in Zenica.

"It's a terrorist act. It's obvious that murder was the intention and it's frightening," said Larry Hollingworth, the leader of the UNHCR delegation in Zenica.

"For the first 24 hours, moral was very low among the NGOs. So we asked for a military presence to be here," he said.

Hollingworth said aid workers have been warned to take more precautions and to stay together. "We gave new instructions but they are free to do what they want. I don't want people to go alone into isolated villages. I want them to go out in groups, to stay in at night unless they have an escort."

"I don't know who wants to stop us but that is the line some groups are taking," Hollingworth said, adding: "There are various elements here who are not under (Bosnian) government control."

Sources in Zenica said between 200 and 300 Moslem "mujahedeen" or holy warriors were based in Zenica and the surrounding countryside. They have taken an

active part in fighting Croat forces and their influence over the local population is growing.

"We had to move out of a house where he had planned to stay because of threats from one of the mujahedin who came and told us to get out because we were too close to one of their bases," said Francisco Guevarra a French nurse with the Medecins du Monde medical charity in Zenica.

"The local people are scared of them and we avoid them as much as possible," he added.

But the presence of the Islamic mercenaries is not the only reason why aid workers are becoming more security-conscious.

As supplies of food and other items run out, thefts have increased, with international organisations becoming prime targets.

"In three weeks, we have been attacked nine times with garage break-ins, burglaries of homes, diesel fuel stolen from vehicle tanks," said Laure Bonnevie an administrator with the Pharmaciens sans Frontieres organisation which deals in medical supplies.

"People are hungry and will get more aggressive as time goes on," she said.

"We are already taking maximum precautions. The only thing we haven't done is hire bodyguards, and that we will not do," said Jean-Francois Delimoges of Medecins du Monde (doctors of the world).

Gilles Grouzelaun of the French charity Equilibre was pessimistic. "We now have to employ policemen and private security guards to protect our warehouses and residence. We are slowly sliding towards a Somalia-type situation."

In the neighbouring town of Kakanj an angry crowd blocked convoys several times last week and six Bosnian policemen were shot and wounded in the turmoil.

"We'll achieve less than 20 percent of the needs in January. All this helps to promote civil unrest. A lot of civil unrest is because people are hungry," said Hollingworth.

"If we can get a lot of food here, we can remove one of the major causes (of unrest). But the number of people who need to be fed increases every single day and means to achieving it get worse every day."

Army Kills Suspects in Killing of British Aid Worker

LD3101194394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Immediately before the evening news, we received an exclusive report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The murder of the British humanitarian worker, Paul Goodall, and the wounding of two of his colleagues, is a crime without precedent for which the West quickly accused members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Here is the result of a quick and successful investigation by the Ministry of Interior of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Following the terrorist attack on the UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees] workers in Penin Han near Zenica on 27 January this year, members of the Ministry of the Interior and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, as well as the relevant judiciary bodies from Zenica and Sarajevo, took urgent and energetic operational and other steps to clarify this terrorist act and find the culprits.

Three persons, under well-founded suspicion of taking part in the attack, were arrested in Zenica. Taking as the starting point the established facts and the fact that the group that carried out this crime consisted of several people, steps were taken to find all the culprits. Reliable information was obtained to the effect that three kidnappers had set off toward Butmir in the stolen vehicle, in order to—as the Ministry of Interior of Bosnia-Herzegovina assesses—reach the airport and flee.

The plan was to intercept the group on Mount Igman in order to arrest its members. However, the car failed to stop despite repeated warnings by the Army. In a contrary action, automatic weapons fire was immediately opened from the car in the direction of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army members and had to be returned. All three terrorists and one civilian, who was held hostage, were killed in the ensuing shoot-out, while one military policeman was seriously wounded.

A passport issued in Great Britain and a passport that was an obvious forgery from Pakistan with an entry and transit visa of the Republic of Croatia was found on those killed. For the aforementioned reasons, it cannot yet be said for certain what kind of people this involved; nor can their exact identity be verified.

Briquemont on Bosnia; Foresees Muslim Sarajevo

BR3101160494 Brussels RTBF-1 Television Network in French 1830 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Interview with Belgian General Francis Briquemont, former commander of the UN Protection Forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by announcer Jacques Brodnel and correspondent Philippe Lamair in the studio—live]

[Excerpts] [Brodnel] Good evening, General Briquemont. You have just heard [U.S.] Senator Biden saying: "Let them die their own way if we don't have the courage to help them live." Is this also your way of looking at the situation?

[Briquemont] The least that can be said is that the senator makes himself quite clear. But I think—as it has been widely admitted over the past few weeks—that one will have to choose between the logic of war or the logic of peace. If one wants to lift the arms embargo, the

fighting eventually will intensify; this might correspond to the attitude of the Bosnian Government. But I stress again vigorously that if the three warring sides keep on fighting, the 10,000 Blue Helmets will not be able to go on providing humanitarian aid. One will have to choose: either there is an agreement in a few days or in a few weeks, or there is no agreement. In the latter case I believe that one will head toward intensified fighting. The situation will need to be thoroughly reassessed.

[Lamair] General, public opinion understands less and less the Bosnian issue and wonders why it is still impossible after 20 months of war to put an end to it. What are the obstacles to a settlement to the conflict?

[Briquemont] Well, listen, I do not think that such a conflict will ever be solved with packages of resolutions; actions have to be envisaged. The first of these perhaps should be to make it possible for those on the spot to be able to apply the UN Security Council resolutions. Another aspect also seems important to me: We always apply our concepts, our Western, West European concepts to other societies which absolutely do not handle problems as we do. It always strikes me to hear some generals and also some political leaders saying: "You know, conflicts here are solved by force." Maybe one should understand what is happening over there before thinking that anything in which we believe in Brussels, in Washington, or elsewhere can materialize in that region [Bosnia].

[Lamair] Your successor, British General Michael Rose, has the same mandate, the same number of troops. Would it not be necessary, for him to succeed, to change the mandate and, if nothing changes, well, to withdraw the Blue Helmets?

[Briquemont] Change the mandate? Well, I do not know if it is necessary to change it now. Simply, I would say that we should be given the means to implement the UN Security Council resolutions—as I have been saying over and over again for weeks together with General Cot: "Give us the troops we need to carry out our mission successfully." The other problem is to be able to use the troops within the framework of the resolutions of course, but also in a way that the military chiefs deem necessary. I will not hide my deep shock when a battalion commander refused to execute an order because his government, or the governments of Nordic countries, refused to deploy a company in Srebrenica. I was deeply shocked because Srebrenica is a sensitive spot in Bosnia, and a key point of one of the most important UN resolutions—Resolution 836. I thus believe that the contributing nations must accept the UN mandate, but it is far too easy to decide to send troops while saying at the same time: "I wish to use them here or there only for this or that purpose." This shocked me deeply and I can tell you that this battalion commander also was very ill at ease because refusing an order from one's commander is very serious for a soldier. I think this represents an intolerable intrusion by the political [leaders] in the conduct of operations. This must change and my successor has raised the issue in New York, but in the meantime, the governments of the contributing nations must admit that. Unfortunately, I do not believe this will happen anytime soon. [passage omitted]

[Brechard] This is another vision of everyday reality in Sarajevo. General, have you experienced these desperate efforts by the population to preserve the life it had before [the war]?

[Briquemont] I experienced them intensely and you know the admiration I have for the Sarajevo population. And they were grateful to me because I probably did a little for them. You would not believe all the efforts made by the UNPROFOR to provide those people with a little water, electricity, and gas, all the efforts made so that those artists could come and perform. But the population also taught me lessons. I deeply admired their dignity, their resistance, and as I have already said in several interviews, I admired the women of Sarajevo.

[Lamair] General, judging from the report we have just seen, do you think that it is still possible for Sarajevo, and for the whole of Bosnia, to be a multiethnic region in the future?

[Briquemont] Yes, but... we probably have reached the most remote limit of that possibility. I believe that the fighting must stop very soon because if it does not, Sarajevo will no longer be that multicultural fortress and all the sides will become radicalized and Sarajevo will lose this multicultural feature. I believe that the city increasingly will become a Muslim city.

[Brechard] Do you mean that the Muslims are now also carrying out an ethnic cleansing?

[Briquemont] I do not know if I can call this ethnic cleansing, but if the fighting continues, the Muslims will want to turn Sarajevo into their capital and it then could be a kind of administrative cleansing.

[Brechard] Well, thank you, General, for your comments.

Army Commanders Brief Rose on Opening Airport

AU3101204594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] The delegation of the Tuzla region, led by chairman Izet Hadzic and Tuzla Mayor Selim Beslagic, held talks today at Dubrave Airport with General Michael Rose, commander of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for Bosnia-Herzegovina. On behalf of the General Staff, the talks on the opening of the airport were attended by Brigadier-General Enver Hadzihasanovic, deputy commander and chief of the General Staff, and his associates, Brigadier- General Mustafa Hajrulahovic-Talijan and Ramiz Suvalic, deputy commander of the 2d Corps.

Mayor Selim Beslagic informed General Rose about the difficult humanitarian situation in the Tuzla region,

where some 400,000 people have been living under siege for 10 months. He reiterated the demand that the international forces urgently open Dubrave Airport, which would solve the problems connected with the delivery of humanitarian aid not only to the free territories, but also the territories under the aggressor's temporary occupation. The examples of Bratunac, Bijeljina, and Zvornik were given. The only thing to which we will not agree is that the aggressor controls the airport, Mayor Beslagic said.

Brigadier-General Enver Hadzihasanovic reported on the attempts by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to enable the international institutions to operate freely, and also stressed the need for occasional meetings with the UNPROFOR chief of staff for Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to solve possible disputed issues at that level, too.

General Rose expressed his gratitude for the support he was given, and informed his hosts about the orders he had issued to his liaison officers. He said that he believed that their successful work would be the grounds for the achievement of aims ahead of the international forces.

UN Confirms 3,000 Croatian Soldiers in B-H

AU2801194594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Nadia al-Ita report from Zagreb]

[Excerpt] The UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] have reliable and verified information that at least 3,000 soldiers of the regular Army of the Republic of Croatia are involved in the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have learned this from the Zagreb UNPROFOR headquarters. [passage omitted]

Army Destroys Serb Tanks, Hits Helicopter in Doboj

AU2801192594

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 31 January carries in its regular 30-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

The studio announcer says that "on this, the 144th day of the [Serbian] enemy offensive against the free Doboj, Teslic, and Tesanj territories, the fighters of the 7th South Operative Group destroyed two more of the aggressor's tanks, an M-84 and a T-55, which brings the number to nine in this latest aggressor offensive, and to 72 enemy tanks destroyed since the start of the aggression against our country."

Reporting from an unspecified location in northern Bosnia, Hajrudin Redzovic says that "our antiaircraft defense has also been brilliant today. In the region of (Bojnikovici) an aggressor's helicopter was hit and, badly damaged, forced to land in the village of Vitkovci." He says that "it was real hell in the region of Filipovici today, where the enemy launched a series of tank-infantry attacks, also using howitzers, self-propelled guns, and cannons of all calibers. Our positions on (Tarabova Kosa) were also exposed to heavy tank fire. All these attacks were repelled." The report says that "the heroism of the fighters of the Tesanj 207th Glorious Brigade was also extraordinary today. They inflicted heavy losses on the aggressor's manpower."

The studio announcer cites the Fojnica Press Center as saying that "the ustasha offensive on the Fojnica-Kiseljak front went into its third day today. During the day the enemy launched three combined artillery and infantry attacks on our defense lines. While the ustasha were attacking with waves of infantry, the chetnik artillery and tanks provided them with heavy support. Our fighters repulsed all these attacks and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy in manpower. The number of killed ustasha runs to dozens."

As for the Celic front, the "[Serb] enemy started shelling the town fiercely in the afternoon hours, just as the representatives of the Nordic Battalion arrived. They, too, were exposed to the chetnik fire from artillery, mortars, and antiaircraft guns." The studio announcer says that "the enemy fired over 100 shells at Tuzla today."

Describing the situation in Sarajevo, the studio announcer says that "this morning the chetniks shelled Mojmilo, Kosa, Brijesce, Turkusici, and Point 830. This afternoon, the chetniks shelled the region in and around Zuc, and residential districts in Alipasino Polje and Sokolje."

Muslims 'Fiercely Fighting' With Croats, Serbs

LD3101191294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1002 GMT 31 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 31 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslims and Croats have been fiercely fighting over the past 24 hours in nearly all disputed territories, and Muslems have also continued attacks and provocations against the Serbs, Bosnian Serb military sources announced Monday.

Muslem Radio Sarajevo reports that three civilians have been killed and 14 wounded when the forces of Bosnian Croats and of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Sunday afternoon fired over 80 artillery shells on the Muslem part of Mostar, town in the southern part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to Muslem media, the Croat anti-aircraft and artillery units Sunday night fired on demarcation lines in Mostar, and Monday morning renewed their attacks on Muslem positions in Konjic, Jablanica and Prozor areas in central Bosnia.

Bosnian Serb military sources report that Moslem forces have been attacking practically all Serb communities and defense lines in the Sarajevo area, trying unsuccessfully to provoke large-scale clashes in order to renew the anti-Serb media campaign.

According to the same sources, Moslem forces have also attacked Serb communities and positions in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina—the areas of Doboj, Gradacac and Maglaj, as well as Olovo in central Bosnia.

Moslem formations have carried out a fierce artillery and infantry attack on Serb positions in the Maglaj area, but have had to withdraw, with losses, to their starting point, Bosnian Serb military sources report.

HVO Reports Muslim Attacks

LD3101135794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1303 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] According to Croatian Defense Force [HVO] reports, Muslim forces in central Bosnia attacked parts of the Zepce front this morning. On the southern section of this front large deployments of Muslim troops were observed. On the Uskoplje-Rama front Muslim forces were also active, firing all along HVO lines. On the Mostar front Muslim forces have increased their attacks, firing with artillery and smallarms on the city, while several mortars hit the city center. Serb forces were active in the Orasje-Samac area, using small arms and heavy machineguns.

UN Commander Protests After Journalists Killed

AU2901171394 Paris AFP in English 1651 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Zagreb, Jan 29 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander strongly protested to the head of Bosnian Croat forces Saturday after three Italian journalists were killed in Mostar and two peacekeepers wounded in central Bosnia, UNPROFOR said.

The Italian television journalists were among 10 people killed Friday during Croat shelling of the Moslem part of Mostar, a divided town in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The peacekeepers were wounded when Croat forces (HVO) attacked a UN convoy taking fuel to a hospital in the central town of Bakovici on Thursday.

In a letter to General Ante Roso, HVO chief-of-staff, the UN's General Jean Cot condemned "this type of behaviour" as "totally inadmissable," UNPROFOR said in a statement.

In a separate incident, two UN military observers—a Dutchman and a Bangladeshi—were slightly wounded Friday when a mine exploded near Drnis, in southern Croatia, UNPROFOR said.

They were driving with a third observer in the "southern sector," one of four areas of Croatia under UN protection, when they went over the mine.

The wounded men, who had wounds in the head, were hospitalized in Split, southern Croatia. [passage omitted]

Croats Cease Fire for Evacuation of Bodies

AU2901145694 Paris AFP in English 1308 GMT 29 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 29 (AFP)—Croat forces agreed to briefly halt their shelling of the Moslem-held sector of Mostar Saturday while UN troops evacuate the bodies of three Italian journalists killed by shrapnel the previous day, UN forces said.

Idesbald van Biesebroeck, a spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), said the bodies would be taken later in the day from the Moslem hospital in eastern Mostar to a medical center run by the Spanish UN contingent at Draveco, south of Mostar in southern Bosnia.

The three Italian television journalists, Marco Lucchetta, 41, Dario D'Angelo, 47, and Alessandro Otta, 37, were killed Friday [28 January] by a mortar shell fired from the Bosnian Croat western part of Mostar.

Their bodies were due to be flown out of Split, a Croatian port town, later Saturday, the Italian ambassador at Zagreb, Salvatore Cilento, said.

The Bosnian Croat "defense ministry" on Saturday deplored the "tragic deaths" of the three Italians and expressed "deep sympathy for their families," in a statement carried by the official Croat news agency Hina.

Seven other people were killed in the Croat bombardment of Mostar Friday in which 55 rounds of artillery fire fell on the eastern part of the town, a spokesman for the UN's Spanish contingent said.

A spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], Kris Janowski, said Saturday that snipers had also killed two Moslem civilians near where an aid convoy was being unloaded into a UNHCR warehouse in eastern Mostar.

Two mortar rounds also fell near the convoy, but caused no casualties.

Friday Britain suspended its participation in aid conoys in Bosnia after a British driver was murdered and two Britons wounded by uniformed gunmen in the Moslem-held central Bosnian town of Zenica.

Meanwhile, Radio Sarajevo reported that Croat aircraft bombed the Moslem village of Kute, near Prozor in central Bosnia, early Saturday after shelling the village throughout the day Friday.

The radio, quoting officials in the mainly Moslem Bosnian army, gave no toll from the bombing and UN officials were unable to confirm the attacks on Kute, which, together with the nearby village Here that was overrun by Croat forces Tuesday, is a strategic supply link between southern Bosnia and Sarajevo.

The UN was unable to confirm the attack on Kute, although it confirmed on Friday the capture of Here.

Numerous Moslem refugees fled to Kute in October 1992 after a Croat offensive at Prozor.

Sarajevo's government called Friday for the UN to convene in emergency session and condemn the "open military intervention of Croatia in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Croats Issue Communique on Deaths

LD2901184694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 29 Jan 94

[Excerpts] One person has been killed and two others wounded in an artillery attack by the Muslim army on Vitez and its vicinity. After the Muslim artillery had pounded Novi Travnik this morning, particularly the suburb of Donji Rastovci, Muslim artillery attacks spread in the course of the afternoon to other parts of the Lasva river valley. The centre of Vitez and all HVO [Croatian Defense Council] positions in that area are coming under particularly heavy fire. Shortly after 1300 the parish church in Vitez was hit. After the Croatian artillery had retaliated, the shelling of this area subsided, although it has not completely stopped. At the same time Muslim infantry forces launched an attack from Sivrino Selo against the village of Dubravice east of Vitez and HVO positions east of Travnik. The HVO command in Vitez has reported that the HVO forces are firmly holding their positions. [passage omitted]

The political department of the Defense Ministry of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna, expressing its regret over the tragic killing of the three members of an Italian RAI Uno television team from Trieste yesterday and extending condolences to their families, has issued an extraordinary communique explaining the circumstances surrounding the killing of the three journalists.

Shortly before 1600 yesterday Muslim forces fired four mortar rounds on a very busy street in the western [Croat-held] part of Mostar, the communique says. The shells were fired from Muslim positions situated near the Muslim army fourth corps command headquarters; three people in the western part of Mostar sustained injuries. In order to neutralize the attack the HVO retaliated, firing on the fourth corps command headquarters whence the shells had been fired against the western part of the city. That was when the three Italian journalists who were filming at that time in the vicinity of the command headquarters were killed.

After the Spanish UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] battalion interpreter had called and stated that the three journalists had been killed and one woman wounded, HVO troops immediately ceased fire, the communique says. The bodies of the journalists are still in a hospital in the eastern part of Mostar, from where they are expected to be transported by a UNPROFOR vehicle to Split to be flown to Trieste this evening.

The Spanish UNPROFOR battalion had warned the journalists to postpone their visit by a few days, but, having joined the International Commitee of the Red Cross, they came at their own risk. At the same time two other teams of journalists, a group of German journalists, a group of Dutch journalists, and two Turkish journalists [as received] sought permission to visit Mostar. They had set off for Mostar, but having been warned by HVO soldiers at the last checkpoint before entering Mostar that to visit this town would be risky, they gave up their trip and waited for UNPROFOR to take them back to Medjugorje, Colonel Antonio Castro, UNPROFOR spokesman in Medjugorje, said. Col. Castro added that in his talks with the Italian journalists he had been asked whether it was risky to visit Mostar, and had replied that to visit either the eastern or the western part of Mostar was always risky.

Granic Denies Allegation of Troops in Bosnia

LD3101203794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Excerpts] A statement on the implementation of Croatian foreign policy was adopted at the end of the 12th session of the Chamber of Counties of the Croatian parliament today. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Commenting on Silajdzic's accusations, Mate Granic said:

[begin Granic recording] The accusation that there are 30,000 Croatian soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that plans are being made to send another 20,000 there is a complete lie. There are no more that 2,000 Croatian volunteers and there are certainly at least two or three times more of those who have come from Islamic countries. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Army Commander on Role in Bosnian Fighting

LD3101212594 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] General Janko Bobetko, chief of general staff of the Croatian Army Corps, has denied the accusations by the Sarajevo government that regular units of the Croatian Army are allegedly present in Bosnia.

[Begin Bobetko recording] The issue of Croatia's involvement or noninvolvement [in the fighting in Bosnia] is an issue which has always been absolutely politicized because the basic fact, or the strongest argument, has been completely forgotten, and all humanitarian and civilizational norms have been ignored. Thousands and thousands of Croats born in Bosnia and living here in Croatia not only looked on [at what was going on in Bosnia], but also lost either their entire family or some members of their family in most beastly ways. They saw their fathers gone missing, relatives who are no longer there, sisters who are wondering around those Bosnian ravines—and the question which is raised now is: who has got the right to forbid me or any Croat from Bosnia, to defend his (?own). Who can do that? Which institution? It is sad that organizations which have concrete insight in every detail of what is going on can still be perturbed by a statement by a Silajdzic because Croatia is present and it does not allow the genocide over the Croatian people. If that was [true], and it is in fact invented, the world, today, in the 21st century, [as heard] should ask itself: What are we doing, gentlemen, when in 21st century [as heard] Europe we have allowed such atrocities and such a war? [end recording]

Assembly Adopts Statement on Geneva Declaration

LD3101182694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Excerpt] The Chamber of Counties of the Croatian Assembly today adopted a statement on the implementation of foreign policy, expressing its support for a joint declaration of the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Here is a report by Jasenka Dudic and Kreso Zadravec on the statement and the course of the session, which was addressed by Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs:

[Dudic] The Geneva declaration is in accordance with fundamental efforts of the international community and the EU action plan, is in line with the essence of President Tudjman's peace initiative, and is a concrete step in its implementation. This is what the Chamber of Counties says, among other things, in its statement. In the statement, the declaration was assessed as a step toward mutual recognition of the two sovereign states, a decisive act for the permanent resolution of the crisis, and a path leading toward a political solution for the temporarily occupied parts of Croatian territories. This is leading toward the final and unconditional incorporation of UN Protected Areas into the Republic of Croatia.

The declaration will not only contribute to the normalization of the situation and to relations between the countries that are signatories to it, but also to the beginning of general normalization, which is a precondition for the establishment of the new world order and the promotion of stability and security in the whole of the southeastern part of Europe. An important initial step on that path is the open recognition of all states within their legitimate international borders in accordance with the UN Charter and basic CSCE documents.

In the statement, the Chamber of Counties calls on the Bosnian Muslims unconditionally and immediately to halt their offensive actions against Croat-populated areas, particularly in central Bosnia. Otherwise, the Chamber holds that the government and the president of the Republic ought to analyze and reexamine the current situation in diplomatic relations between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and, in accordance with the assessment of this situation, take appropriate steps.

Alongside the condemnation of all misdeeds, crimes, and acts in contravention of the law on international war and the humanitarian law, in its statement the Chamber of Counties encourages the Croatian Government to do everything in diplomatic, political, humanitarian, and all other areas to secure the continuous presence and the normal life of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The statement was adopted with 38 votes against. A separate statement was adopted by the club of deputies of the Croatian Social and Liberal Party [HSLS],

Croatian Peasants' Party, Istrian Democratic Alliance, Social-Democratic Party, and Croatian People's Party.

I am sorry that, despite all our efforts, we did not succeed in formulating a joint statement that would be acceptable to the deputies' club of the HSLS, Granic said in his address to the deputies. He explained the important objectives of Croatian foreign policy.

These are, first of all, to reintegrate the occupied territories into the state system of the Republic of Croatia, to resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina in such a way that the survival and equality of Croats is guaranteed, to have good-neighborly relations with all states, and to integrate Croatia into European and world processes.

Granic stressed that the current situation in the occupied territories is untenable, since the Serbs have completed ethnic cleansing and do not respect the human rights of Croats; however, opting to liberate the occupied territories militarily would cause great casualties and, probably, the international isolation of Croatia. This is why Croatia opted for the strategy of negotiation, in order to first establish communication and to resolve humanitarian and other questions, which should eventually bring about a peaceful reintegration of the temporarily occupied territories into the Croatian state system, Granic said. He added:

[Begin Granic recording] This path, which includes primarily peacemaking and a peaceful option, does not—at the end of the day—exclude any methods of achieving the final goal: the goal of a completely free Republic of Croatia. We shall try to do our utmost, however, to exhaust the peaceful option and to get the international community's support for it.

As regards Bosnia-Herzegovina, this means that lasting relations between Croats and Muslims should be established, that all confrontation should stop immediately, and that the Bosnian-Muslim state should develop as a secular state, acceptable to Europe, to its entire environment. Croats should also stay in their areas, with their safety and development guaranteed. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Zhirinovskiy Praises Vukovar Serbs at Rally

LD3101202694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Vukovar, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, president of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, said this evening in Vukovar in the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] that "the West—because of applying double standards—is most to blame for the war in the former Yugoslavia." On the one hand the republics which succeeded from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were recognized, and on the other, the Serbs were not granted the right to self-determination, the leader of the largest opposition party in Russia said at a rally in the center of Vukovar.

"The West must be punished for this and Russia will do its utmost to have the war criminals punished," Zhirinovskiy said at a news conference held in the partially rebuilt Danube Hotel after the rally. Amid an ovation from several thousand people of Vukovar, the guest of the Serb Democratic Party of all Serbian lands promised that "the great Russia will be the protector of all Serbs" and spoke about the "creation of a joint Slav state from Vladivostok to Knin."

"The era is behind us, once and for all, when the Serbian people, who heroically fought for their own survival and the survival of all [eastern] Orthodox peoples, were punished. If a single bomb falls on a Serb town, that will mean a declaration of war on Russia and that will be the time when we will have all debts paid to us," Zhirinovskiy said.

The leader of the party which won the largest number of votes at the elections in Russia on 12 December said that a Russian battalion is already fighting in the RSK and that, "if need be, whole divisions and even a whole army will come." He wished the Serbs the strength to persist in their just struggle for their homes where they have lived for centuries.

In reply to a reporter's question, Zhirinovskiy said that his party stands for Russia with the borders of the former USSR, but only by peaceful means. He recalled that Georgia, Azerbaijan, and some other former USSR republics have already expressed a desire to return to the joint state, primarily for economic reasons.

The citizens of Vukovar were also addressed by RSK President Milan Martic, who said that the Serbian people "got only disappointment from Russia, while waiting for the great Orthodox spirit to reawaken."

"And it is being reawoken in the person of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who is a guarantor for us that in the future we will have a great protector in the world", Martic said, and added that "Vukovar and the RSK will never be Croatian again."

Vukovar Official Protests Visit

LD3101203594 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] [Correspondent] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's visit to Vukovar and the occupied areas of the Vukovar and Srijem county, i.e. Sector East where a Russian UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] battalion is deployed, was a point on the agenda of a Vukovar and Srijem Assembly session today, from which a protest note was sent to the Russian embassy saying among other things:

[Begin recording] [Matej Jankovic, prefect of the Vukovar and Srijem County] Therefore, I consider it your duty to dissociate yourself from the visit and activities of your parliamentarians, while UNPROFOR in which your soldiers are also deployed, has a duty to prevent

Zhirinovskiy from entering an area within the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Croatia without permission by relevant bodies of our state. [end recording]

[Correspondent] It should be noted that the Croatian side has never opposed any visits either to Sector East or the UNPROFOR forces that was regularly announced or organized in cooperation with relevant Croatian bodies.

Commentary Views U.S. Senate Resolution

AU3101160794 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 94 p 1

[Commentary by Aleksandar Milosevic: "Lost Sheep"]

[Text] Although nonbinding, the resolution of the U.S. Senate demanding the lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims is more than telling. First of all it reveals the prevalent way of thinking in this leading U.S. institution regarding the solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict. The U.S. Senate obviously believes that a political solution is impossible, and so the military solution imposes itself. Additionally, this resolution confirms that—out of narrow internal interests—the United States wants to radicalize its behavior in order to appease its allies in the Islamic and Arab world.

Both these facts, however, show that there is a large rift in interests and intentions between Europe and the United States when it comes to solving the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. While the European Union, divided over the national interests of France, Great Britain, and Germany—and in the shadow of Russian diplomatic moves—is trying in vain to find a common denominator for its policy, the United States is trying to move things with loud threats of air strikes and now of lifting the arms embargo against Alija Izetbegovic's army. However, it is hard to believe that the real way will be found with such diversified interests. The European West and the United States still resemble lost sheep far more than a respectable political force.

Although one should not, in principle, draw parallels with the past for day to day political events, one should nevertheless say that the U.S. Senate did not pass such a resolution, or indeed any resolution, binding or otherwise, when Croatia was the victim of the Serbian aggression. Besides, the arms that Alija Izetbegovic would get with the lifting of the embargo would, at least initially, be used exclusively against the Croats in central Bosnia and the Neretva River valley. That is why Croatia cannot remain calm and unconcerned in the face of the latest resolution of the U.S. Senate.

Government Considering Normalizing FRY Ties

LD3101200194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Ljubljana, Jan 31 (TANJUG)—Slovenia is considering a normalisation of the relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), Slovenian Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle said on Monday [31 January]. At a press conference in Ljubljana Peterle underscored Slovenia's official stand that the normalisation of the relations with the F.R.Y. was of interest for this former member of the Yugoslav Federation, especially after the increasingly successful contacts between Belgrade and Zagreb. The Slovenian Foreign Ministry has been actively monitoring all recent changes in the Ljubljana-Belgrade relations, said Peterle but did not elaborate.

Slovenia's Foreign Ministry is studying what should be done for the setting up of the contacts between Ljubljana and Belgrade, said the minister and added that proposals would be submitted to the Slovenian Government in order to examine them at one of its next sessions. The F.R.Y. recognized Slovenia in late summer of 1992, as part of the preparations for the London Conference on resolving the Yugoslav crisis. At that time, Slovenia did not show any interest in the normalisation of the relations with the F.R.Y.

Zhirinovskiy Comments, Reaction Reported

AU2801195494 Paris AFP in English 1943 GMT 28 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Ljubuljana, Jan 28 (AFP)—Slovenia's Foreign Ministry on Friday called on Vladimir Zhirinovskiy to leave the country after the Russian ultra-nationalist leader said the independent state should be incorporated into a new Yugoslavia. The Ministry said in a statement that Zhirinovskiy, who arrived here Thursday at the invitation of the tiny National Social Union of Slovenia, had "offended public order" and "caused consternation among part of the Slovenian public." The Ministry call for him to leave "as quickly as possible" came after the leader of Russia's Liberal Democratic Party said Slovenia should form part of a reconstituted Yugoslavia.

Last month, Zhirinovskiy angered Bulgarian officials and was promptly asked to leave the country after calling on the president to step down.

At a press conference in the northwestern town of Bled Friday, Zhirinovskiy said Slovenes, Croats and Serbs should reunite in a single state. "Slovenes are perhaps happy to have their own state, but if everyone followed their example it would lead to catastrophe," he added. He stressed that he was against the use of arms to resolve conflicts, as this would set the stage for "a third world war," and that countries' frontiers should be respected.

The only way to stabilize the situation in former Yugoslavia was for United Nations troops to withdraw, he added. He warned that if the world body approved the use of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation air strikes in Bosnia he would personally "call on (the Russian) parliament to vote for Russia to leave the UN."

The Ministry statement said Zhirinovskiy's entourage had "grossly violated public order" during their stay in Bled. It called on Russia's charge d'affaires in Ljubuljana to ensure Zhirinovskiy and his team left Slovenia promptly. [passage omitted]

Zhirinovskiy was due to spend Saturday and Sunday in the Slovenian resort of Portoroz on the Adriatic coast before leaving for Belgrade. His Belgrade host Velimir Cvetic, head of the Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia, earlier said Zhirinovskiy would be invited to visit the Serb-styled Serb republics in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina respectively.

Jovanovic: Krajina Status 'Should Be Resolved'

LD0102012794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0000 GMT 1 Jan 94

[Text] New York, Jan 31 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia maintains that the status of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) should be resolved in talks between Croatia and the RSK as the legitimate representative of the Serb people in U.N. protected zones, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said in a letter to the U.N. Security Council. In the letter, Jovanovic informed the Security Council president that Yugoslavia and Croatia signed in Geneva on January 19 a joint declaration aimed at normalizing ties in line with the principles set out in the U.N. and CSCE charters.

Noting that the declaration does not imply mutual recognition of the two states, the Yugoslav foreign minister said that this was, nevertheless, the ultimate goal. The document also does not prejudge a solution for the status of the RSK, he explained.

The right of peoples to self-determination is guaranteed in the Helsinki final act of 1975, and the Yugoslav Government does not question that fundamental right, said Jovanovic.

The RSK, created in late 1991 by Serbs within their ethnic and historic boundaries, was proclaimed a U.N. Protected Territory in early 1992 in a document which set out that this status should last until a political settlement acceptable to both sides had been found. The fact that the RSK is a U.N.-Protected Territory has not stopped Croatia, however, from trying to introduce its rule there by force.

Parliament Fails To Elect New Chairman

LD0102111194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1029 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), Depos, and the Democratic Party (DS) have failed to reach an agreement on the election of the chairman of the Serbian parliament. Dragan Tomic (SPS), Vuk Draskovic (Depos) and Zoran Djindjic (DS) informed parliamentary deputies about this today and gave their explanations. Two new candidates have been proposed—Dragan Tomic (SPS) and Jorgovanka Tabalovic (Serbian Radical Party). Neither of the initial candidates—Zoran Arandjelovic (SPS) and Gvozden Rosic (Depos)—received the necessary majority of votes.

Chances of Election 'Slim'

AU0102122894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Report by Radovan Pantovic]

[Text] There is currently a break here [in the Serbian Assembly]. In the continuation of the session, the chiefs of the clubs of deputies have concluded, each for his own side, that great efforts to find an agreement have been invested over the last five days, but also that the negotiations did not yield the desired results.

A logical consequence of all this is the repeat of the entire procedure for the election of the assembly chairman. The candidate put forward by the Socialist Party of Serbia is Dragan Tomic, director of Jugopetrol and a chief of the Socialists' club of deputies, who also stood as a candidate last week. The opposition proposed Jorgovanka Tabakovic, economist from Pristina, and a deputy of the Serbian Radical Party, as its candidate.

At the moment there is a break, as I have reported. A debate about the candidates will ensue soon, after which the voting will be carried out. However, since nobody has changed his mind, the chances for the assembly to get a chairman in this round of voting are slim. This will be all for the time being.

Article Analyzes Extent of 'Brain Drain'

AU3101183894 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 94 p 10

[Article by Olga Nikolic: "Science— A Stage Set for the Regime"]

[Excerpt] Science and education resemble Siamese twins—one cannot live without the other. The rate at which they will grow depends on how much is being invested in this bipolar "generator of the development of every society." In the SFRY, both these activities had full verbal support, and difficulties came about only when money was supposed to be given. It seems that "old habits die hard."

There are about 15,000 scientists and researchers (11,000 of them with doctoral degrees) and 150 scientific entities registered in Serbia: About 30 institutes have been founded by the republic, a quarter of which (seven) are under the patronage of Belgrade University. There was a list in the former Yugoslavia with the names of 33,000 scientific workers (of this number, only 4,000-5,000 people could justify holding this title on the basis of OECD standards). At the end of December 1990, it was announced that we do not lag behind the world in the number of researchers, but the difference is seen the moment one counts the number of computers, finds out what one day of a researcher looks like, or establishes the money allocated per scientist.

Unlike their colleagues from the European Community, who spend 47 percent of their working hours on research, in our country only every second researcher uses a third of his working hours for research. According to the number of scientific works in natural sciences published in internationally recognized scientific journals, before the war broke out the SFRY was in 48th place out of 172 states. Of the European countries, only Romania, Turkey and Albania were behind us. The

situation was even worse in the social sciences: 61st place with only Romania and Albania behind us.

One can learn about the situation in science by the numbers of patents granted in the research and development sector of the economy. As a comparison, one should say that in 1986 alone, a single Japanese firm claimed 28,200 patents, a that which the enterprises from the territory of former Yugoslavia (if they joined together again) would be able to reach in 158 years!

When the very ambitious federal Law on Financing Scientific and Technological Development was passed last summer, experts immediately saw that everything "remained just on paper" because funds amounting to 0.002 percent of GNP do not suffice even for small, let alone more serious, projects.

The embargo and other things have caused scientists to leave the country en masse. According to unofficial data, 17-20 percent of people dealing with science have left the country in the last two years alone.

It has been calculated that the "brain drain" alone will reduce the GNP over the past two years by $30 billion. [passage omitted]

Ethnic Council Head Discusses Serbian Rights

AU0102114994 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 1 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "Andov Receives Serb's Representatives"]

[Text] Macedonian Parliament President Stojan Andov, as President of the Council on ethnic relations in Macedonia, received representatives of the Democratic Party of Serbs in Macedonia. They discussed enforcement of the rights of the Serbian minority, from aspects of the degree of inclusion in the Constitution of issues like the right to education and culture, and the necessity of greater Serbian presence in the mass-media in Macedonia.

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